The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Founded by Edward C. Hegeler

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JA-LUO WARRIORS, WITH FEATHER HEAD-DRESS, SHIELDS, AND SPEARS.

Kavirondo, East Africa. (Photo by Mr. C. W. Hobley, M. Inst. C. E., Assistant Deputy Commissioner, East African Protectorate.)

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARY DRAMA.

BY VICTOR S. YARROS.

AS intelligent observers are aware, the world has been witnessing a dramatic "race between war and revolution" in several countries. The war is practically over, but the revolution is far from having been liquidated. As the aftermath of the great and tragic war we have many grave and complex problems that may give our statesmen and jurists more trouble than they have apparently bargained for. The mere setting up of small and restless nationalities in the independent or "sovereign" business of government is a holiday task beside the infinitely more difficult task of insuring reasonable harmony among them and preventing them from picking quarrels with more powerful neighbors. Small, ambitious nations can become big nuisances. Federation, union for large purposes, cooperation in the interest of efficiency and economy, with ample cultural autonomy for constituent units, would appear to be the only real solution of the many national and racial problems that the war has left us as its heritage.

That the minds of sober students and earnest informed thinkers would naturally turn toward this solution, can hardly be doubted. The lessons of history, assuredly, are too plain to be misunderstood. There is no progress in disunion, disintegration, multiplication of weak, insecure states. There are no advantages to true civilization in reversion to a dead past. Even a League of Nations formed on the most liberal lines would afford no guaranty of peace and security were the newly liberated nationalities to remain severally independent, jealous of one another, walled in and legally isolated in a commercial sense. As Immanuel Kant pointed out long ago, a true League of Nations implies, among other things, complete

freedom of trade among the associated nations. Tariffs, and especially preferential tariffs, are sources of irritation and friction, and a multiplication of independent states necessarily involves a multiplication of tariff barriers and customs houses.

These ideas, to repeat, would meet with little resistance from men of vision and understanding if the world situation were not so befogged and if confusion were not made worse confounded by the revolutionary outbreaks and disturbances.

Peace has to be made, not with stable and duly constituted governments, but, in some cases at least, with fragile, unrepresentative pseudo-governmental organizations—accidents of the hour, fruits of anarchy and chaos.

Furthermore, the world finds itself in the midst not merely of political, but of social, economic and intellectual upheavals. No wonder pessimism is said to reign in high circles, despite the rather sudden ending of the war.

Now, Russia was the first of the great powers to stop fighting, sue for peace and embark upon a colossal "social" experiment. Her internal troubles and trials since the first of the two revolutions of 1917 have perplexed the Western world more deeply than those of any other country. Many have frankly "given Russia up," saying that her "psychology" is bizarre and utterly incomprehensible to a non-Slav mind. But we have to understand Russia—especially we Americans, who are to be called on to aid her materially and possibly give her sympathetic guidance as well.

In point of fact, the several acts of the Russian drama are not very difficult to interpret in the light of Russian conditions—physical, political, moral, and historical. Science bids us look for "simple explanations," particularly where human conduct is concerned. This article is an attempt to interpret the Russian revolution and its sequel without bias, partisanship or passion, and incidentally to throw light on the question of our duty and opportunity in Russia.

1. *The Overthrow of Czarism.*

All Russian writers of note agree that the revolution of March, 1917, was truly national, spontaneous and popular. For the first time Russians of all schools and factions found themselves "unanimous." Autocracy had committed suicide. The old regime was bankrupt, and there were none to defend it or plead for a new lease of life for it. Even the peasant millions who had venerated the "White Czar," the "little father," and had long considered him to

be their sincere if impotent protector, were reconciled to the abdication of the House of Romanov and to the establishment of a republic. Famine, cold, misery, staggering losses in the war—losses attributed not to the ordinary fortunes of war, but to incompetence, corruption, selfishness, pettiness, and actual treachery in the Russian bureaucracy and cabinet—had thoroughly cured even the illiterate peasant of his affection for the autocrat. The army welcomed the revolution. It was weary of butchery and slaughter. Too often had it had to oppose with bare breasts and arms the irresistible advance of disciplined, perfectly equipped and ably led enemy legions. The army knew that Russia could not continue to play the part that had been assigned to her. She had made terrific sacrifices and had reached the breaking point. An agricultural empire, with an illiterate people, undeveloped "pigmy" industries, a small and ignorant middle class, inadequate transportation facilities, empty arsenals, how could Russia stay longer in a war that taxed to the utmost all the technical, industrial and scientific resources of the twentieth century?

The revolution, then, came because Russia needed and demanded peace and bread. The masses of the people were not interested in mere politics: as has well been said, the Russian people do not "think politically, but economically." The first provisional government was expected to grant the people the blessings the czar had been unable to give—peace and bread. It was, however, unequal to the situation. It lacked moral authority. It was too conservative and moderate for the period. It had not the courage to inform its foreign allies in positive terms that Russia was practically out of the war and that the renewed "offensive" expected of her was impossible.

The first provisional government was a government of gentlemen, of cultivated and westernized men, of professors, diplomats and administrators. The workmen, the soldiers, the sailors, and the peasants in the villages were not in the mood to listen to the gospel which this government preached,—the gospel of patience, of moderation, of sweet reasonableness, of loyalty to allies, of strict observance of covenants that had been made by the czar. They insisted on immediate relief and reform. The provisional government undertook many admirable things, but it could not give the people peace or bread. It begged for time, and begged in vain. The real power was in the hands of the militant, mercurial committees of soldiers, sailors and workmen, and these committees distrusted the provisional government and hampered it in every

direction. They soon made the position of the government untenable, and it had to resign. It had to make way for a more radical and more representative government.

2. *The Kerensky Cabinets.*

After the fall of the Lvov government the central council of soldiers' and workmen's delegates had the opportunity to take the reins of government into its own hands. It hesitated and declined. It professed its readiness to support another coalition cabinet and work with it so far as it might approve of its policies. Kerensky was the logical choice for premier in a new cabinet. He was a socialist, a popular orator, a favorite with the trade unions, a former agitator against autocracy. Even moderates urged him to take the premiership. He was not a man of action or of mental vigor. He was not a statesman or an administrator. But he had personal magnetism, and it was hoped that he would by persuasive oratory and tactful private negotiations manage to induce socialists, individualist radicals and liberals to work together amicably and preserve a semblance of discipline and order in the army and in the country.

Kerensky was obliged to make many successive changes in his cabinet. He sought to placate the extremists without alienating the moderates. He played the ungrateful role—doubly ungrateful in Russia, where compromise is treated as sin—of opportunist and Fabian. His chief duty was to pave the way for a constituent assembly. He and his associates did not feel that they had any legal or moral right to settle momentous, knotty and serious questions—least of all the question of land tenure. They knew the peasants' attitude toward the land question. They knew that immediate expropriation of landlords without compensation was a popular doctrine, and that this doctrine was being disseminated by a section of the Social Democratic party of Russia—the Bolshevikis (who have become so notorious since). But they would not or could not use force against these agitators—even when some of the latter were openly accused of accepting enemy money and carrying on propaganda that happened for the moment to suit enemy purposes. The Kerensky government argued that free speech and free assembly were too sacred and inviolable to the revolution to be infringed upon even in a critical and anxious hour. They were determined to be consistent and logical. They would not do the cruel things which they had condemned the czar for doing. The agitation they

would not, and perhaps could not, check, the agitation of the extremists who talked to the peasants and soldiers in terms they could understand, finally proved to be the undoing of the Kerensky government. It fell because it was too conservative for the left and too radical for the rightist parties. It fell because it was feeble, uncertain, divided against itself, and practically impotent. Like its predecessor, it had failed to give the masses either peace or bread. It had failed to summon a constituent assembly, and it had failed to impress the Allies with the desirability of encouraging the movement for "a negotiated peace," of promoting inter-belligerent conferences of radicals, laborites and socialists, and formulating definite peace terms. Kerensky was not as frank with the Allies as he might have been, and it is doubtful whether they ever fully understood the Russian situation before the victory of Bolshevism. On the other hand there is reason to think that the Allies resisted unpleasant explanations and shrank from looking the facts in the face so far as Russia was concerned. They thought that a Kornilov, or another stalwart patriot and soldier, could suppress revolutionary pacifism and reestablish the eastern front. They stressed Kerensky's weakness too much, and could not bring themselves to believe that elemental forces, beyond the control of any "strong man," had been unchained and let loose in Russia. They mistook a mass movement for an insignificant revolt. They indicted individuals for acts or omissions which, at the time and in the circumstances that existed, could not possibly have been avoided. Russia after the revolution was out of the war and intended to stay out. Even the Cossacks refused to support a pro-Ally, pro-Patriotic movement.

3. *The Bolshevik Dictatorship.*

Lenin, Trotzky and their associates—none of them "workmen"—had little difficulty in wresting power from the Kerensky government. They did not lead the masses—they followed them; they voiced the people's insistent demands for peace, bread and land. They had audacity and the courage of their opinions. They were Social Democrats, followers of Karl Marx, and they subscribed to the economic interpretation of history, or "historic materialism." They had no respect for what they called "bourgeois shibboleths." They had no interest in political ideals and cared little about mere forms of government. Religion and morality meant nothing to them; the social revolution would bring forth its own religion and morality. They believed in the gospel of the Communist Manifesto, did not flinch from expropriation and confiscation of property, and were

prepared to use any means that might prove to be necessary to the realization of their supreme end.

Their first duty, as they rightly enough conceived it, was to end the war and give Russia the opportunity of turning to internal problems and revolutionary reforms. They did not *prefer* a separate peace; they served what to them seemed quite sufficient notice on the Allies that a general peace must be made forthwith on the basis of the Soviet formula, "No annexations; no indemnities; self-determination." They gave the Allies time, while warning them repeatedly that Russia might be compelled to desert them and conclude a separate peace.

They expected that the German Socialists and trade unionists would come to their aid in the final phase of the peace negotiations and force the Berlin government and the German high command to grant Russia fair and reasonable terms. They did much to shape and influence labor sentiment in Germany and Austria-Hungary, and they expected to reap immediately the fruits of their bold and thrilling ideas. They thought they had so thoroughly prepared the soil of Europe for revolution that even the German kaiser and his generals would not dare propose to Russia's Socialist government oppressive and humiliating terms.

When they finally signed the Brest-Litovsk treaty they did so because the anticipated help was not forthcoming and because they felt sure that revolution in Western Europe was only delayed. They signed a treaty that, they said, gave them a breathing spell, a chance to organize a "red" army, and the infinitely more important opportunity of abolishing the old economic order and establishing genuine socialism in what remained of the Russian empire. They candidly said that they could afford to give up Poland, the Ukraine, the Baltic provinces, and much more besides, for an uncertain period, provided they were left free to make their historic experiment in Marxian socialism in the interior of Great Russia.

The Bolshevik leaders called their successful rebellion against Kerensky and his coalition cabinet "the social revolution." They planned to expropriate the expropriators, to seize the land, the mines, the banks, the factories and the other capitalistic establishments, and to transfer these to the people. They did not actually believe that the peasant and proletarian masses were "conscious Socialists," converts to Marxian socialism; but they believed that the people's sufferings and discontent, and the peasants' land hunger, would enable them to take advantage of the situation. They meant, in short, to use the irresistible demand for peace and bread as a

stalking horse for the introduction of the type of Socialism they had long advocated and dreamed of.

But what of the middle classes, of the non-socialist parties and groups, of the milder socialists who were opposed to confiscation, terror, and repudiation of national debts? Would these surrender, or fight Bolshevism?

The answer was—*the dictatorship of the proletariat.* Lenin and Trotzky declared that all the counter-revolutionaries, whether noble, bourgeois or former foes of the czar and his regime, would be ruthlessly suppressed. The rule of the people was the goal in view; but the rule of the urban proletariat, led by a few Marxian socialist intellectuals, was *the indispensable preliminary stage.* History justified the dictatorship, they claimed. Revolutions cannot be peaceful or beatific. Sentimentalists, rhetoricians, academics, fair-weather radicals were as dangerous to them as the reactionary Bourbons. All enemies must be crushed. There could be no compromise with weak-kneed reformers. Past services and claims must be treated as negligible factors. The success of the social revolution must not be jeopardized by ideology or weak concessions to "bourgeois virtues." Russia was the pioneer, the pathfinder, and at any cost must achieve the great objective. The other nations would follow in her footsteps. Russia was not perhaps quite ready for socialism, but there are such things as "leaps" in the history of human progress. The minority was ready for the leap, and once made, there could be no turning back. The majority would *subsequently* be educated and converted.

The group of masterful men that held these beliefs assumed power with the support of armed guards, embattled urban workmen, and hosts of disinherited and vindictive peasants who had not forgotten the cruelties of the *ancien régime*, the burdens of the czar's tax system, the exactions of the corrupt officials and the tyrannical agents of the secret police. The soviets throughout Great Russia gravitated toward Bolshevism, for it meant little, if any, interference with them and immediate seizure of the land that belonged to nobles, capitalists, the church or the crown. A reign of terror ensued. Every "bourgeois" was under suspicion. How many men, women, and children the Bolshevik regime has slain or starved to death, the world does not yet know. But that anarchy and civil war have held sway throughout Russia, and that Bolshevik troops have had to fight whole sections of the dismembered empire, are notorious facts.

4. *The Bolshevik Failure—the Causes.*

At this writing the Bolshevik government is still nominally in the saddle, but its collapse is foreseen and generally anticipated. Even Lenin tacitly admits that his great adventure is likely to end in smoke. He has not brought internal peace to Russia. He has not restored normal conditions. He has not averted famine and has not started the wheels of industry. The "leap" has not been made. Ukases and decrees on paper are not enough to carry a people over a chasm and settle them securely under a new system of laws and institutions.

Why Lenin and Trotzky have failed, and were bound to fail, may be explained in a few words. In the first place, they did not give the people the external peace they had promised. The treaty of Brest-Litovsk angered many Russians, who continued to regard Germany as an enemy. Moreover, it brought them the Czecho-Slovak complications and, eventually, intervention by the Allies and the United States.

In the second place, the Bolshevik government did not bring internal peace, concord and rehabilitation. Province after province, district and center after district and center seceded, repudiated the Lenin regime. Some districts set up other governments and opened negotiations with the Allies. Russian exiles in Europe and America carried on active propaganda against Bolshevism and Soviet rule, denouncing them as tyrannical beyond anything ever attempted by the czar, utterly anti-democratic and hopelessly incompetent and "crazy." In the parts of Russia which the Bolshevik executive claimed to control and govern every former landlord, including the richer peasants, every former owner of property, every "bourgeois," and nearly every non-socialist intellectual was known to be bitterly anti-Bolshevik at heart. Thousands of trained men went on a strike and declined to work under the mediocre or ignorant appointees of the Bolshevik soviets. This led to reprisals, to "pogroms" directed against the intellectuals. Russia could not resume normal life without the energetic and earnest aid of every intelligent son and daughter. True, these educated and trained men and women numerically constitute an insignificant element of the whole population; still, as Lenin has admitted, Russia cannot produce, trade, exchange, transport, finance her industries and commerce without this small element. If it is striking against and boycotting Bolshevist rule, that rule must collapse.

And what after such a collapse? The answer of anti-Bolshevik Russians of all schools and parties is that the Bolshevik ministry must be replaced by a truly national, representative government, and that a constituent assembly should be convoked without further delay to give Russia a stable and genuinely democratic government. This is the alternative program. A constituent assembly elected under a system of universal, equal and secret suffrage would have the authority to speak for Russia and to act for her. No dictator has such authority, no matter how benevolent and altruistic and self-sacrificing he may be—or imagine himself to be.

5. *Is the Soviet System "Superior"?*

There are, however, men and women in England and America who assert that the Bolsheviki are more democratic than their opponents; that they have evolved a higher form or type of popular government; that the attacks on them betray narrow, provincial, prejudiced minds, and that, even if they fail, the future is bound to vindicate them. It is asserted that Europe and America have crude, outworn, unjust systems of government, while Bolshevism has blazed the way to a fairer and nobler form. Let us examine these claims. Let us ask just on what basis of fact or principle they rest. What is the essence of the Soviet form of government?

Let Lenin himself, the acknowledged intellectual leader of Bolshevism, answer this query. In an elaborate and powerful address which he delivered at Moscow some months ago Lenin said on this crucial point:

"We introduced and firmly established the Soviet republic—a new type of state—infinitely higher and more democratic than the best of the bourgeois-parliamentary republics. We established the dictatorship of the proletariat, supported by the poorest peasantry, and have inaugurated a comprehensively planned system of socialist reform."

These two sentences, if they mean anything, mean that a dictatorship of the city workers supported by the poorest peasants is infinitely higher and more democratic than a republic based on universal, equal and secret suffrage, on the doctrine of majority rule arrived at by free and tolerant discussion. What reasonable radical can subscribe to this notion?

In the same address Lenin continues, more explicitly:

"The Socialist character of the Soviet democracy consists first in this: that the electorate comprises the toiling and exploited masses; *the bourgeoisie is excluded.* Secondly in this: that all

bureaucratic formalities and limitations of elections are done away with; that the masses themselves determine the order and time of elections and with complete freedom of call. Thirdly, that the best possible mass organization of the vanguard of the toilers—of the industrial proletariat—is formed, enabling them to direct the exploited masses, to attract them to active participation in political life, to train them politically through their own experience; that in this way a beginning is made, for the first time, to get actually the whole population to learn how to manage and begin managing."

In other words, the Soviet form of democracy is higher and better because it disfranchises the middle class, because it disfranchises the richer peasant who shares the sentiments of the middle class, and because it puts supreme control in the hands of the city workers. Further, the Soviet form is higher and better because it dispenses with all formalities in elections and enables a mass meeting, or a tyrannical chairman pounding a gavel, to declare this or that group of persons elected to this or that set of offices. Secrecy, uniformity, precautions against fraud and force in elections are "bourgeois" fancies, and their abandonment insures more certain and direct rule by the people!

Of course, all this is grotesquely absurd. Yet there are self-styled radicals and progressives who extol the Soviet type of "democracy" and ask us to copy it, or at least devoutly worship it as an ideal, if we are too imperfect to realize it.

The Soviet form of government is neither democratic nor rational. It is government by accidental groups, by disorderly assemblies, by haphazard arrangements. It is government by usurpers and pretenders who may or may not choose to obey a dictatorship of the so-called proletariat, which in turn is led by a small group of remorseless non-proletarian dogmatists and social bigots.

Some superficial apologists for the Lenin regime find some hidden beauties in the fact that the Soviet government, whether local, provincial or central, is a government of people who "work together" instead of a government of people who happen to live in a given area or who think alike! Now there may be some advantage in basing representation on occupation, profession, calling, instead of on mere population. But what has this to do with the disfranchisement of those who "work together" as "richer peasants," or as "bourgeois," or as non-socialist intellectuals? And what happens when those who work together disagree and think separately? In point of fact, the Lenin form of Soviet government is a despotic government of certain people who think alike and who disfranchise

and suppress all who venture to differ with them and to have other ideas of social and economic organization. It is not a higher form of democracy, but a lower form of tyranny.

Russia had such institutions as the Mir—the village commune—the Zemstvo, and the city electorate to build on. The czar's suffrage acts were illiberal and undemocratic, and the revolution extended and popularized them. Proportional representation was adopted to protect minorities. Local, provincial and national institutions could have been firmly planted on the thoroughly democratized suffrage, and the majority would have ruled within constitutional limitations. The Bolshevik faction destroyed democracy, scornfully rejected majority rule, and established a dictatorship of a small class in the name of "the social revolution" that was to bring forth a perfect democracy. The experiment was as indefensible theoretically as it was futile, needless and impossible practically. In Russia, under a democratic government, the workers and peasants would have controlled any assembly, any parliamentary body. The land problem, the credit problem, the problem of industrial control, would have been solved conformably to the wishes of the great majority—workers and peasants. The minority, the bourgeoisie and the intellectuals would have been outvoted on every definite issue. But—they would have had the rights of freemen—the right to express opinions, to agitate and educate, to seek to influence and win over the majority. They would have had their day in the court of public opinion. They would have had no ground for complaint. As it is, they are deprived of all political rights, all voice in government, simply because they might have proved too persuasive, too eloquent, too successful in debate. Their "side" was not wanted. They could not be permitted to talk or to vote. The people must follow the proletariat vanguard and Lenin. They cannot be allowed to choose. And all this is "higher democracy"!

These bedlamite ideas have happily been assessed in Germany and Austria at their true value. The Social Democrats of Western Europe have fortunately little sympathy with Bolshevism and have regarded Russia's recent experiences as warnings or deterrent examples. The principles of democracy and liberty are rightly understood in the radical circles of Germany and Austria, and the danger of Bolshevism in those countries was greatly exaggerated after the abdication of the autocrats and the establishment of a provisional Socialist government. Russia must learn from Europe and America what democracy is. She is learning now. She is not lost.

RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY.[1]

BY WILLIAM ALBERT NOYES.

AS our President expressed it, "America is joined with other nations in fighting *to make the world safe for democracy.*" A little more than fifty years ago our greatest statesman said that we were fighting in a not altogether dissimilar conflict in order that "government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth." Much as Lincoln hated slavery he saw in the Civil War issues of vastly greater importance than the question of freedom for the slaves.

Long before the conflict between autocracy and democracy led to this dreadful war humanity began an age-long contest between authority and freedom in matters of religious belief. The two contests have often been inextricably interwoven in the political history of the world. To-day the political and religious conflicts are largely separated, but the fundamental issues at the basis of each are so closely related that a clear philosophy in religious belief must help toward a true philosophy of government. This is, in part, my excuse for writing on a subject about which scientific men are either very reticent, or speak only among a selected group of men who are supposed to share beliefs very like their own.

In any field of knowledge we can understand the present only in the light of the past and at the risk of repeating things which are familiar to every one I wish to sketch briefly the development of religious beliefs in the world.

Primitive man was very much at the mercy of his environment. He was surrounded by hidden, mysterious forces which he could not understand. Under these conditions a belief became current that the objects of nature are peopled with a myriad of unseen spirits who live a life of their own and who often interfere, sometimes benevolently, sometimes malevolently, in human affairs. A natural sequence was the development of religious rites of various kinds designed to propitiate the unseen inhabitants of the invisible world. Among the people of the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, where our own religious beliefs had their origin, these rites had assumed the dreadful form of human sacrifice. Some four or

[1] The following paper was first delivered as an address before the Philosophical Club of the University of Illinois, December 8, 1917.

five thousand years ago a man by the name of Abraham conceived the idea that such sacrifices were not necessary and that an animal might take the place of the human victim. A later, uncritical age read back into the religious beliefs of Abraham the conceptions which came through many centuries of later development, but we have no good reason for thinking that he was so far in advance of his age. Knowledge of religious truth has come exactly as knowledge of other truth—by slow, gradual development guided by leaders who often grasp a single and always a partial truth—as this of Abraham's has proved to be.

Later, the descendants of Abraham made their way to Egypt, at first under favorable circumstances, but by a change of political relations they were brought into bondage. According to the tradition, which doubtless has a basis of truth, one of their children was brought up in a king's household and was instructed in all the secret knowledge of the priestly cult. It seems certain that he learned from the priests the notion of a single supreme Deity far above all others—a belief somewhat related to the belief in Zeus among the Greeks or in Jupiter among the Romans, but more closely allied to the monotheistic faith of later Judaism. This belief in Egypt was kept for the chosen few. There is some reason for thinking that Moses imparted the belief clearly only to the priests. In any case, the belief in many gods was prevalent among the Jews for centuries after this time. During these centuries, there grew up an elaborate ritual which was fostered by the priestly caste. There are some who would have us think that the priests were entirely selfish and hypocritical—that they continued the ritual because they were supported by the people in a position of authority and received for themselves a part of the sacrifices offered. There is some truth in this point of view—some truth, even in a similar view of the priests and pastors of the nineteenth century—but it is only a very partial and sordid truth. It was an uncritical age and each generation of priests accepted the beliefs handed down to them, and these beliefs grew by insensible accretions. They were the intellectual leaders of their time and they had some vague notion, at least, of that which we can see so clearly to-day—that they were keeping alive beliefs which, in spite of all the mixture of error and evil, have proved of vastly greater importance to the world than anything else that has come to us from their nation. Their God was still, practically, only a national god, more or less capricious and jealous of his rights, as were all the rulers of that day, intensely interested in the national life and supremacy of the Jews but quite oblivious of

the rights of other nations—a point of view which has not altogether disappeared from the world. But, with all that, there grew among the Jews, as nowhere else in the world, a belief in a "Power not ourselves that makes for righteousness"—a Power which is just to the poor and needy as well as to the rich and powerful and with which all must ally themselves, if they are not to be destroyed, —a thought almost identical with the scientific doctrine that an individual or a race must be in harmony with its environment if it is to survive.

After a short period of national glory, perhaps somewhat exaggerated in their own records, the Jews lost their independence, and many of them were carried away and scattered in other lands. After a time a few intensely religious men and women, who would not allow themselves to be absorbed among the other nations and who believed that their God could manifest his full power only at Jerusalem, returned to their old home. These fervent souls had sloughed off almost the last remnant of belief in other gods, and there was no longer any trouble from idolatry. So severe was their belief that sculpture was impossible among them. They still retained their ritual, but there appeared among them the prophets who could say with Micah, "What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God?" Less than two centuries before the Christian era desperate attempts were made by their rulers to stamp out the Jewish faith. But the fierce, fanatical zeal of the Maccabees and others saved their faith and also some semblance of political life, until Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus. The history of the Maccabees is found in the Apocrypha, and it is a great pity that the makers of our canon robbed us of those books.

Nearly nineteen hundred years ago a young man, not yet thirty, gathered together in his mind the conceptions of a Supreme Power always present in the world, which had been growing among the Jews through centuries,—a Power sometimes severe in its justice, but also tender and kind as a Father. He felt himself to be in intimate personal relationship with this Power which pervades the universe. He said, "My Father and I are one"— and he considered it of supreme importance that every one should bring himself into intimate accord with this Power which dwells in the world and which he called God. He seems to have accepted without question the prevalent view of the supernatural origin of the so-called Mosaic law, and he conformed to the ordinary religious ritual of his time, but he saw more clearly than any one before him that such a Power

as he conceived was not interested in external forms. He said, "The Kingdom of God is within you." He pointed out that the fundamental purpose in one's life is of more importance than anything else. "Out of the heart are the issues of life." His practical test of accord with the Supreme Power was not in the performance of any ritual, or in any external forms which were supposed at that time to be essential in serving God, but in our relation to others. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." He delighted in the paradox, "He that saveth his life shall lose it." He who puts first in his life acquisition will lose the very thing for which he seeks—happiness is not to be found in that way. "He that loseth his life for my sake and the Gospel's shall save it." He identified himself here with the Supreme Power of which he considered himself a part—he who strives with his whole soul to bring himself into accord with that Supreme Power by service to others, as that Power serves others, will attain to the only sort of life that is satisfying and worth while. He is greatest in the Kingdom of God. The greatest men of the world are not those who seek wealth or fame or advancement for themselves but those who have done great things for others.

He did not commend the life of the ascetic or recluse but said, "I am come that they may have life and may have it abundantly."

He was tempted at one time to try to form a temporal kingdom and bring back his people to their ancient glory. He may have seen that such a course was impossible of success, or he may have seen that it could not lead to the triumph of those ideas which were dearer to him than his life. In any case, he rejected that course of action.

It was inevitable that he should soon find himself in bitter opposition to the religious leaders of his nation and that he should denounce in unmeasured terms the false god whom they presented to the people. Some one has said recently that he killed the Jewish god. But it was a part of his greatness that he accepted the terminology and in a large measure the thought of his time and built on what he found instead of tearing it down and endeavoring to start new.

After three short years of teaching there came the supreme test. Opposition became so bitter that if he continued to speak openly in Jerusalem he must face death at the hands of the Jews. He might, doubtless, have withdrawn to lead an obscure, quiet life among his friends in Galilee, but that would have meant defeat and failure in that which he had set himself to do. He had the insight to see

that if, instead of this, he should go forward to his death this culmination of his life would give a power to his teaching that could be secured in no other way. He believed most ardently in a future life, though the Jews of his time were far from agreed upon that question. This belief must, undoubtedly, have played an important part in his final decision. He carried his purpose through, though he found the way at the end exceedingly bitter and hard and almost his last words were, "My God, my God, why hast thou deserted me?" In the result, however, his death became the supreme illustration for all the world of his doctrine that he that loseth his life shall save it. Through his death his doctrines were given a vitality and life that they could have secured in no other way—and I think no one will question that his life has had a greater power in shaping the history of the world than that of any other man who has lived.

With the growth of knowledge the attitude of the world toward the supernatural has slowly changed. For some centuries there has been little definite belief in present-day miracles though there are sporadic tendencies to renaissance as at Lourdes and in Christian Science. The Protestant world has rejected the miracles recorded of Christian saints since the first century but retained a belief in the miracles recorded in the Bible. Most intelligent Protestants are quite ready now to say that the sun and moon did not stand still at the word of Joshua and that the whale did not swallow Jonah, but there are as yet few theologians who question openly the miracles of the New Testament. Many of these, however, maintain an attitude of silence about these miracles, and very few use the miracles as proof of doctrines contained in the Bible. The practical situation is that many still believe in the miracles, or in some of them, because of the truths about human life interwoven with the account. In the centuries following the Christian era a belief in the miracles was, undoubtedly, a very large factor in the spread of the Christian faith. To-day, the accounts of the miracles are much more a hindrance than a help. I do not wish to antagonize too strongly those earnest and honest men and women who hold different views and who believe that the Supreme Power dealt with the world, in times past, differently from the way in which it deals with it to-day. But I think all will agree that we cannot base a belief in Christianity on the miracles recorded in the Bible.

The evidence is very clear that Jesus did not rest his authority on any such foundation. When we remember that he lived at a time when a belief in the supernatural was well-nigh universal and that the records of his life were not written for thirty years or more

after his death, it is remarkable that we have, nevertheless, such a clear picture of his attitude toward this question. He said, "An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign bı no sign shall be given it except that of Jonas the prophet." The reference is, of course, to the resurrection. I will not stop to discuss the fact that, in the light of the universal belief of Christians in the resurrection when it was written, the first part of the sentence has far greater significance than the last. Over and again, he told those who were healed that they should tell no one—an indication that his followers had a greater belief in his miraculous power than he himself had.

Not only did he reject the miraculous as the basis of his authority but he gave a positive basis which the world to-day is coming to see clearly must be the basis of all authority—the basis which makes the difference between an autocratic authority imposed from the outside and a genuine democratic authority which grows from within. "If any man will do my will he shall know of my doctrine whether I speak for myself or whether I speak the truth in accord with that Supreme Power which rules the world and of which I am a part."

The generation of Christians which followed the death of Jesus believed implicitly in his physical resurrection. Paul, who saw him only in a trance, or vision, which was not seen by his companions, held the belief just as firmly as any. The early development of Christianity certainly depended in considerable measure on this belief. The early Christians also believed in a speedy return of Jesus in physical form to establish a political kingdom in the world. Some passages in Paul's letters show that this doctrine of the second advent of Christ led some of the early Christians to neglect their daily work and he rebuked them sharply, saying that no man knew the hour when the Lord would come and that they were to live as though they expected him at any minute. A critical reading of the New Testament will make it clear to any one who is not blinded by preconceived notions about the inerrancy of the written word that the apostles were mistaken about the second coming, but the error has been revived over and over again through all the centuries since, and it has often produced the same baleful results as in the time of Paul.

Jesus seems to have accepted the ritual of the Jews so far as he believed that this came from the authority of Moses. He spoke to Jews and could not have secured a following if he had pursued any other course. But he taught his followers that the original teaching had been overlaid with traditions of men, and he made it

perfectly clear that a ritual or custom is to be followed, not because it is commanded but only because it is inherently right and of service to men. Thus he said, "The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath." The Sabbath is to be observed, not because it was established by the authority of God, nor, in the spirit of the sacrifices, as a means of courting God's favor, but because it is useful in man's development—a usefulness which has increased rather than diminished. The complete change of the course of one's thought at regular intervals, once a week, is especially valuable to intellectual workers—and there is need, too, for time to think of our relationship to that Power "in which we live and move and have our being," and to consider our relations to our fellow men, which are so intimately associated with that relation.

Paul, the only well-educated man among the apostles, was commissioned by the Christians at Antioch to preach the Gospel among the Gentiles. It was through his efforts, chiefly, that Christianity made its way to Greece and Rome and from thence to the whole of Europe. His experience led him to break away almost completely from the old Jewish ritual. But new principles make their way slowly in the world and while Paul could say, "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good," the thought that authority must be imposed from without dies hard. Within a few centuries there grew up a new ritual. The Christian sacraments took the place of the Jewish forms. Baptism took the place of circumcision and was considered essential to salvation. It was supposed that Jesus by his death had appeased the wrath of God exactly as the old Jewish sacrifices had done and a new priestly caste grew up which arrogated to itself the right to mediate between God and man. This new order continued almost without question for more than a thousand years.

In the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries Wycliffe in England, Huss in Bohemia, Luther in Germany, and Calvin in Geneva revolted against the ecclesiasticism of their time, and, just as Jesus went back to Moses and the prophets to find the truth and stripped away the false beliefs which had become current in the teaching of the priests, these new prophets went back to the Bible to find those great fundamental truths which had been covered over with errors grown strong through the accretions of thirteen centuries. Some of these accretions were derived from the Greek and Roman mythology and mysticism, though some truth came from these sources, too. But the world of that time could not yet grasp the idea that truth in religious matters is discovered by exactly the same sort of process that is used in discovering any other kind of

truth. So Wycliffe and Huss and Luther and Calvin felt the necessity of a supernatural authority to take the place of the authority of the Church. They put the Bible in this place, and the world of to-day is only slowly freeing itself from this great error. They were curiously blind to the fact that the books were written by fallible men, that the canon was established and many books were rejected and others included by a fallible Council of the Church against which they were revolting and that the books contain many errors which are evident to any critical reader.

Throughout the centuries a large part of the emphasis of Christian teaching has been laid upon the doctrine of a future life, the conduct of the present life being important chiefly in its relation to immortality. Calvin, in this connection, developed a more logical and consistent theology than any of the others. One of his doctrines was that the omnipotence and omniscience of God implies that certain persons have been chosen from all eternity to be saved and certain others to be damned. If this is accepted, there seems to be no escape from the conclusion that the individual is powerless to alter the eternal decree.

This doctrine has to-day a strange renaissance. Modern science has shown that there is a most intimate connection between the phenomena of life and the laws of matter and energy which dominate inanimate nature. Physical and chemical changes within living bodies are, so far as we can discover, exactly like the physical and chemical changes that we study in the laboratory, and there is no evidence generally accepted by scientific men that consciousness can exist without some physical organism. The study of physical phenomena has led to the conclusion that if we have enough knowledge completely to describe any isolated physical system at the present moment we can predict what its condition will be at any future time. In other words, we believe in an absolute uniformity of sequence in the phenomena of nature. Applying these principles, the mechanistic philosophy of the present day claims that every human being is, in all of his thoughts and relations, merely the resultant of physical forces which have been in operation for countless ages and which will continue to act long after he is dead. The thought of any personality or purpose within the human soul which can alter this inexorable sequence of physical phenomena is repugnant to such a philosophy. This is a fatalism worse than that of the Turk, a Calvinism without even a divine purpose behind it.

On the physical side the mechanists have made out a strong

case, but, to me, they have disregarded two very essential factors in our knowledge of the question.

The beginning of new life has never been observed in the world in spite of the most strenuous efforts to discover it. A negative of this sort can never be proved, but so long as it stands it must be considered as a serious flaw in the mechanistic philosophy.

The other factor is more positive. We are often conscious of weighing in our minds the reasons for some course of action, and in the end we choose deliberately, perhaps something which ministers to our immediate personal gratification, perhaps something which will find its fruition years hence in some good which will accrue to ourselves or to some one else. So far as our own consciousness goes, it seems to us that we might have chosen differently and we instinctively treat all our fellow men on this basis. It is well for us to remember that all of our knowledge of the external world comes through consciousness and that the testimony of our consciousness on this point is as valid as upon any other.

If our consciousness deceives us, we are the helpless victims of an inexorable sequence of physical forces.

Toward the close of the eighteenth century there came in France a revolt against an intolerable political system under which the most fundamental human rights had been denied to the masses of the people. The revolt was, in part, a sequence of our own American Revolution. In some of its phases it was a revolt against the corrupt ecclesiasticism of France, as well as against the government. Reason was enthroned as the God of the world, a ten-day period was substituted for the week and the metric system of weights and measures took the place of the chaos of systems and no-system previously in vogue on the Continent. The revolt against the religious systems of the time spread far beyond the confines of France, and atheism became rampant among the scholars of the world. In 1800 scarcely a single church member was to be found among the students of Yale college, and ardent admirers of Tom Paine were to be found everywhere.

During the nineteenth century the rapidly growing knowledge of the universe in which we live and the control of the forces of nature which came with this knowledge gave men a completely changed relation to their environment. A knowledge of the geological history of the earth dispelled forever the notion of a six-day creation. The discovery of the permanence and indestructibility of energy and matter has given us the notion of an inexorable order and sequence in the phenomena of the physical universe outside of

ourselves, to which we must conform if we are not to be destroyed. A knowledge of bacteriology, of vaccination, and of antitoxins has made it possible to control epidemics which a century ago were considered by many as mysterious visitations of Providence. A study of early records has made it very certain that the cosmogony of the Hebrew Bible grew from myths and legends handed down through many centuries, and a knowledge of the processes of evolution has made it quite certain that there are genetic relationships between different kinds of living beings and that man himself is no exception.

Those who think that there must be some absolute authority in matters of religion often take great pleasure in pointing out that our scientific knowledge is fragmentary and imperfect and that theories once universally accepted have been discarded or greatly modified. Such persons fail completely in understanding the basis on which our scientific knowledge rests. Any scientific truth which is to receive continued acceptance must rest, not on the authority of some leader of science, but on a clearly understood relation between the truth and the phenomena of nature on which it depends. No opinion is so venerable or so buttressed by authority that it must not be subjected over and over again to the test of agreement with the facts which we find in the world about us. A man who is imbued with the genuine scientific spirit is not troubled by differences of opinion among his colleagues. A completed, perfect truth has little charm for him. His interest is in that growing, changing truth which approximates more and more closely to that ultimate reality which he knows is in the universe about him but to a complete knowledge of which he can never attain. And he knows that the truth of the present — always a relative and partial truth — has grown through the interaction of many different minds and must continue to grow in the same way. It does not follow from this that there is no authority in science—there is a great and very effective authority, but it is not the authority of the individual. It is the authority which comes from a consensus of opinion among scientific men. That authority may be shaken at any time by one who can bring forward new truth which compels belief. But we know perfectly well that the truth of the present has been inherited in large measure from the work of many generations of seekers after the truth and the man who attempts to controvert old and well-established opinions without first acquainting himself fully with the basis on which those opinions rest will be heard with scant courtesy. But the genuine, earnest seeker for truth, who knows

the truth of the present, and builds upon it, will always find a hearing.

These principles of democratic freedom, which rule in the scientific world, have made way very slowly in the domain of religious truth, and a failure to recognize them in the political field has plunged the world into the most destructive war it has ever seen. We no longer burn men at the stake in an attempt to suppress errors in religious belief, but many of the ecclesiastical forces of the world still claim a mystical, supernatural authority in support of their systems. In spite of this philosophy, which seems to me so mistaken, religious truth has grown in the world exactly as other truth has grown, and a democratic freedom of belief and of discussion is making rapid headway. And the advance grows chiefly within our churches and religious organizations. Just as it would be hopeless to try to reform errors of scientific thought from without, so the man who holds himself aloof from the organized religious truth of the world and who is unwilling, first of all, to gain a sympathetic understanding of the truth which has come down to us through many generations of earnest, honest men and women, cannot hope to have much effect upon the development of religious belief. And religious belief is so vital in its relation to the progress of the world that the thoughtful men of our day have no right to shirk their duty to have a part in its growth.

In the political field, one of the strongest governments in the world still clings to the belief that its right to rule rests on a supernatural authority imposed from above. We might be content to allow this belief to stand the test of experience, confident that the truth will ultimately be found, had not this powerful nation coupled with its belief in the divine right of its ruler a belief in Darwin's doctrine of the survival of the fittest, which it has perverted to a belief in the right of the fittest to destroy—sublimely unconscious of the egotism which would claim that any system of government contains all that is best in political organization. Ignorant, too, of the fact that truth in the political world is best found by the free growth of many different systems side by side and the interaction of these upon each other. The last century has brought the whole world into the most intimate relationships, and if the human race is not to destroy itself we must live together in the future as a great family of nations. There are two ideals for such a life. One would make the strongest and best government in the world dominate all of the rest, contributing benevolently, perhaps, to the development of the other nations and races but shaping them after its

own ideals until the whole world is organized in accordance with a single pattern. The other ideal is that each nation shall be permitted to develop in its own fashion so long as it does not interfere with others and so long as it guarantees to its own citizens the fundamental rights of liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The first ideal seems to carry with it great hope for the advancement of backward peoples, but we may be sure that it would be followed, sooner or later, by a period of stagnation and death, just as the autocratic rule of the Christian Church contributed largely to the intellectual barrenness of the Middle Ages. Progress by the democratic method may seem slow at times, but in that method alone lies the hope of the future.

As the world has changed and is changing from autocracy to democracy in political government, a profound change has come in our concepts of God and of revelation—a change which is, consciously or unconsciously, accepted by our best religious leaders, but which has seldom been clearly expressed.

The writers of the Old and New Testaments knew only autocratic governments. To them God was outside of his world ruling over it benevolently and interfering with its affairs for the promotion of righteousness. This concept has been replaced by the thought of an inflexible, unchanging orderliness which it seems impossible to conceive without an Intelligence behind it, but which is never changed by something outside of the universe.

Science may accept the thought of a God who is imminent in the universe and coextensive with it, but cannot well accept a God who is outside of his world. In considering the personality of such a being we meet the same difficulties which have been discussed in connection with the mechanistic theory and for these difficulties the answer seems to be similar.

The change in our view of revelation is no less important. The old idea was that of an authoritative revelation imparted to a few individuals. The growing belief is in a slow discovery of the order which exists in the moral and spiritual as well as in the physical universe—discoveries first made by individuals in a manner which suggests the older idea of revelation, but which rest for their authority, not on the fact of revelation, but on their agreement with the reason and experience of the world.

Some persons who have given up for themselves the thought that there is an absolute authority in religion consider that it is not safe to preach the doctrine that our knowledge of religious truth rests on the same basis as our knowledge of scientific truth, to chil-

dren and to the masses of the people. Without the *ipse dixit* of a supernatural authority, the people are not to be trusted and are liable to go off into all sorts of vagaries of belief and of conduct. This is, perhaps, the last and most insidious refuge of a dying autocracy. It is worth while here to recall one of Lincoln's remarks, "You can fool some of the people all of the time, and you can fool all of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time." We cannot, if we would, conceal the truth which is growing in the world and we may take as our motto the words of our greatest Leader, "The truth shall make you free."

ANATOLE FRANCE—A POSTSCRIPT.[1]

BY LEWIS PIAGET SHANKS.

"WE do not remain one moment the same, and yet we never become different from what we are,"[2] said Anatole France at thirty. But what is the stable element in this restless soul? Is it the poet or the naturalistic novelist, the dilettante or the patient historian, the mystic or the rabid anticlerical, the amiable skeptic or the bitter polemic, the cynical satirist or the reformer, the scoffer at men or the humanitarian and builder of a new Utopia? What is constant in this kaleidoscope of phases or moods?

Halt your kaleidoscope at any figure, and take it apart. Some of the colors are covered up by others, but underneath lie all the elements of every pattern. Take Anatole France in any of his phases, and one finds, balanced or conflicting or dominated one by the other, his two basic elements: an imagination essentially romantic and a Voltairian keenness of analysis. And under all their changes of pattern plays the same motive force, the same instrument, the *sensibilité nerveuse* which he early noted in Racine: in other words the artist's temperament, vibrant and sensuous, richly responsive but a shade too delicately poised—a nature which after its first contact with life, is bound to turn away from its ugliness to that softer reflection of reality given by literature and art.

"There are times when everything surprises me, times when the simplest things give me the thrill of a mystery,"[3] he writes at

[1] In the following we give the last chapter of the book on Anatole France which we announced in our September number, and which will soon be ready for publication. The author, Professor Shanks, is now teaching in the University of Wisconsin.

[2] *Génie latin*, p. 309.

[3] *Livre de mon ami*, p. 4.

forty. This is the faculty which makes the poet, the mystic, the curious and eager dilettante. "Imagination turns into an artist a man whose feeling is stirred, and a brave man into a hero."[4] This is the faculty which makes the idealist and the dreamer of reform.

Fond of the marvelous and the exotic, enamored of the past, subjective and sentimental beneath all his irony, finding in memory "une Muse divine,"[5] this imagination is undeniably romantic. But against that influence works the acid of an intellect analytic as Voltaire's, solving or dissolving all; and if its rational activity, which gives us the scholar, the philosopher, and the satirist, does not invariably end in cynicism, one may be reasonably sure of that result in a temperament self-betrayed by its visions and wounded through its abnormal sensitiveness. Before that final term, his intellect finds pause on Montaigne's pillow of doubt, and happily mingled with imagination, finds flower for over a decade in its finest pages.

Who, could we choose, would not live the golden forties with Anatole France? In those cloister days, protected like his long adolescence, even the "nervous sensibility" of the artist combines happily with his mental faculties, urging fancy and intellect alike to explore. Rooted in an ardently sensitive nature, "that high curiosity, which,"—as he tells us,—"was to cause the confusion and the joy of his life, devoting him to the quest of that which one never finds,"[6] now leads the poet and the scholar to a past infinitely more attractive than the present. An egotist, an intellectual romanticist, loving the past less for truth's sake than for the escape it offers to his imagination, where it reflects itself as richly as a woman's beauty in a Renaissance mirror, so too he loves the ideas of the past, the ideas of the present, the marvels of science, the Utopias of the reformers, the poetry in all of man's pageant of philosophy, whereof he believes not a single word. We may rightly blame the selfishness of this attitude, but even an idle curiosity may produce for us the gift of beauty. So with this intellectual hedonist: in his richly furnished mind each new impression echoes and reechoes, until somewhere down the galleries of memory it strikes to music a forgotten harp or violin. For Anatole France lives in his memory as he lives in art and reality.

Yes, reality. Even this skeptical monk of letters cannot completely shut out the real world, the world of feeling and experience. "Like others, skeptics too are subjected to all the illusions of the universal mirage: they too are the playthings of appearances; some-

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 272.

[5] *L'anneau d'améthyste*, p. 190.

[6] *Pierre Nozière*, p. 17.

times vain forms cause them to suffer cruelly. Useless for us to see the nothingness of life; a flower will sometimes suffice to fill it to overflowing."[7]

There, surely, the conflict of his temperament stands revealed. Impossible for him to reconcile his intellect, his pessimism, with the sensuously imaginative love of beauty which draws him—with that passion which fires his artist's blood before life's tragic moments of beauty—brief foam-flowers lapsing into waves of ugliness or a flood-tide of indifference or despair. Impossible to reconcile this conflict, which makes Bergeret, beset by provincial vulgarity, "dream of a villa with a white loggia set above a lake of blue, where, with his friends, he might converse in the perfume of the myrtles, at the hour when the moon comes forth to bathe in a sky pure as the gaze of the good gods and soft as the breath of the goddesses."[8] Awakened like Bergeret by stones crashing through his library window, an oversensitive type will turn back to his books, longing, at least momentarily, for the hermit's life which will remove him definitely from the incongruities of a world not made for romanticists.[9]

So Bonnard is transformed into Bergeret, who, despite his cult of ataraxy, reveals a latent capacity for emotion—the romantic sensitiveness—in his praise of Irony and Pity. But in the course of life one gets used to living, learns to love life, to love it even in its ugliness, like the atheist in *La chemise*. "Moi, j'aime la vie, la vie de cette terre, la vie telle qu'elle est, la chienne de vie."[10] So the mature Anatole France attains the pessimistic tranquillity of Doctor Trublet and Brotteaux des Ilettes, in whom imagination has at last yielded to intellect, philosophers grown serene with age, no longer lamenting Bergeret's dream-villa, but content to gather uncomplaining the crumbs of beauty life offers by the way.

In fine, one cannot help thinking that Anatole France looked into the mirror when he drew Dechartre in *Le Lys rouge*. Like the artist, he too is "a restless mobile spirit, egotistic and passionate, eager to give himself, prompt to withdraw, loving himself generously in all the beauty which he finds in the world."[11] He too is one who lives for self, for the pleasures his fancy and his intellect and his temperament can give. This makes him an artist, and this gives him the defects of the artist. "There are people who are masters of their impressions, but I cannot imitate them."[12] So he

[7] *Vie littéraire*, II, p. 174.

[8] *Mannequin d'osier*, p. 33.

[9] *Livre de mon ami*, p. 70.

[10] *Barbe-bleue*, p. 258.

[11] Page 99.

[12] *Pierre Nozière*, p. 275.

is the victim of his qualities, unable to coordinate or discipline either intellect or imagination. "I have never been a real observer, for the observer must have a system to guide him, and I have no system at all. The observer directs his vision; the spectator lets himself be led by his eyes."[13]

The results of this yielding to self are shown in his art. All his longer stories are formless: lack of true constructive ability is the real basis of his preference for the tale. Unable to force his talents or coordinate them, he requires twenty years to finish his one piece of serious scholarship. But discipline would have curbed that universal curiosity which is his life's chief interest; the dilettante cannot subordinate his talents, the skeptic can build no system save the skepticism which indulgently tolerates them all.

A man of moods, living after his moods, his subjectivity will always limit his creative imagination. His best characters—the only truly living characters of his novels—are invariably "portraits of the artist." Aside from that, he can only draw directly from life—as he did with Choulette—or sketch a figure cleverly characterized by the externals which impress his sympathy or his impassive hate. Rather significant, in this connection, is his denial of the creative imagination: "All our ideas come to us from the senses, and imagination consists, not in creating, but in assembling ideas."[14] So, too, he defends plagiarism and makes creation a matter of style: "Ideas belong to everybody, but as a thought has no value save through its form, to give a new form to an old thought is art in its entirety and the only creation possible to humanity."

Yet it would be easy to push this criticism too far. The originality of Anatole France is to depict his multiple self, to mould figures into which he can breathe his own ideas, and to make them of enduring metal rather than the usual sawdust or straw. Subjective portraits as they are, Sylvestre Bonnard and the genial Abbé, Professor Bergeret and Trublet and Brotteaux are enough to compensate for this creative deficiency, which is supplemented by a memory which makes his brain the sum of all he has ever been. For Anatole France lives in his own past as he lives in the past of humanity.

To impose no rein upon imagination or intellect, to avoid discipline and coordination of one's talents to a single end, to follow the self where it listeth, is the mark of the intellectual Epicurean. And perhaps we may even drop the adjective! "Let us not listen to the priests who teach the excellence of suffering," he tells an

[13] *Livre de mon ami*, p. 115. [14] *Ibid.*, p. 280.

audience *in propria persona*,[15] "for it is joy which is good....Let us not fear joy, and when a beautiful thing or a smiling thought offers us pleasure, let us not refuse it." Needless to cite proof: indications of his pagan sensuousness are frequent enough throughout his work, particularly in the growing license of the later books. That fact alone shows the breakdown of pure hedonism as an intellectual ideal. But, on the other hand, here we find the very quality which, at its best and under control, creates his finest prose: it is this sensuous vibrancy that gives such an atmospheric afterglow to his pages which stir the senses and trouble the soul like the poignantly fleeting beauty of a sunset sky. It is a glamor we can only feel, created by one who "would rather feel than understand."[16]

An Epicurean gifted with an active mind, a restless soul ever seeking the unknown, will of course enjoy a longer cycle of pleasures than a mere sensual hedonist. "One wearies of everything except the joys of comprehending." But "books trouble restless souls,"[17] and though comprehension remains a pleasure in the long ranges of the mind, when it comes home again to self its joys are turned to torment. "Our ignorance of our own *raison d'être* must always be a source of melancholy and disgust."[18] When youth is gone and self-centered intellect alone remains, dissolving that hope and illusion which is the spiritual basis of life, when the bitter skeptic has definitely put down the poet and the idealist, he must reaffirm himself by action, and the cloistered Epicurean knows no form of action but writing. Even the skeptic must write—write to regain an illusion for living. He may not know whether the world exists, but as an artist he does know that his art exists absolutely. We must all believe: the very gymnosophist, sitting in mud on the Ganges banks, hugs a negative belief beneath his squalid immobility. We must believe and *act*, or die: "Whatever be our philosophic doubts, we are forced to act in life as if we had no doubts at all."

So like the homunculus of Faust, the romantic Pyrrhonist yields to life's imperative call. He turns to his desk, and there makes a stand against the flux of appearances which Heraclitus first taught by the Ionian sea. He expresses himself, like all of us; and it is well perhaps that this impulse to self-expression should be instinctive and blind. He may excuse his inconsistency by saying, like Anatole France, that "it is better to speak of beautiful things than not to speak at all," but at heart he knows that he is only the blind

[15] *Opinions sociales*, p. 70.

[16] *Vie littéraire*, II, p. 191.

[17] *Ibid.*, I, p. iv.

[18] *Jardin d'Epicure*, p. 67.

instrument of the Light that is in him, the slave of a Word that must be made flesh for the salvation of his soul.

And thus, even in his cloister, the artist like the philosopher justifies his existence to the world. He is judged by his results. If the man of stronger passion and simpler mind,—the man of action,—finds his self-expression in fighting the universe without, his broader vision and more timorous judgment will turn him from that unequal struggle with an age of low ideals, to find a field of action in the universe within. He will live, not in life but in books, that agreeable dilution of life, which even a world of "service" may well allow to those who distil honey for its delight. And if, as with Anatole France, his is too vital a temperament to stay there forever, if finally the same nervous sensitiveness which had led him to art brings him out of his study in generous pity for the oppressed, we must sympathize with him returning in disillusion. Not that such a one needs it: he still has, to console him behind his study doors, the intellectual life, the much-needed critical spirit which alone will make the liberty of our children's world. And some day, reviewing his work and noting in his later loss of poise the brand of the conflict, posterity will regret that Anatole France did not stay in his library, content to remain one of those "for whom the universe is only ink and paper," comforted by the fact that ink and paper and broken marble is all that is left of those who laid the foundations of modern Europe in the little Attic town. To keep to his books, to shut the door upon the petty struggle, to hold his universal curiosity and his universal sympathy down to the definite task of criticism—there lay the way out for Anatole France. That was Sainte-Beuve's solution of his own similar problem: "*J'éventre les morts pour chasser mon spleen.*"

Of course, such a philosophy has its limitations. After all, the beauty of art is a symbolic beauty. Its larger interest lies in its significance: the masterpiece crystallizes a type of the human spirit arrested at a vital stage. In the calm of the Greek marbles, in the smile of Mona Lisa, in the patient niggling realism of the Dutch school, a whole age is revealed, a phase of humanity caught and fixed for all generations to come. What is real in the contrast between Watteau's suavity and Millet's rude force is the more definite contrast sensed in the age and the people, in the silent multitudes behind the artists. This matrix, this mass of human flesh, voiceless and inert, forgotten unless it find immortality in such a masterpiece, must always be the critic's background: he paints a

portrait, but if chosen rightly, the face sums up the spirit of the age.

Are we justified in finding such a type in Anatole France? Certainly not, if in his work be sought a literal reflection of his larger background, a panorama of life such as is revealed in the monumental creation of a Balzac. To be sure, something of this kind of realism may be found in *Histoire contemporaine* and others of his modern novels. But from a philosophic standpoint, these are far less significant than *Thaïs* or the tales, which, under the mask of history, present symbolically a spiritual and intellectual portrait of the later nineteenth century in France.

Anatole France typifies his age in its dominant interest, the historical spirit. Discovered by Walter Scott, developed by Romanticists eager to follow imagination in a flight from reality—fortified, in Flaubert and his school, by archeology and psychology, the great modern study finds in this writer a characteristic devotee. His keen perception of human identity beneath all the manifold differences of time and place teaches him that man's duty is to rewrite history: yet, despite an increasing realism, he is no dupe of the pseudo-scientific school of historians. To the end he remains a critic and an artist, recreating the past through insight and imagination.

He typifies the excessive individualism of this age of democracy. Even in his conservative days he is ardently personal: he cannot keep self out of his creation. Not merely subjective, like the Romanticists, from whom he differs by a greater intellectual reserve, he carries subjectivity into the things of the intellect, and to justify the dilettantism of his attitude, exalts it finally into a philosophy. Hence his skepticism, eager to show the relativity of other men's realities, rising under attack to a devotion toward philosophic nihilism which is a devotion to his own form of dialectic. Barring a few years of pragmatism, this is his dominant attitude: from first to last he is an intellectual anarch, reducing all things to his measure; and in his reaction against all absolutist formulas he has become a large figure in the new philosophy of Humanism.

His pragmatic period, and indeed his whole later evolution, reflects our modern humanitarian and socialistic interests. A corollary of his subjectivity, confessedly grounded upon an Epicurean sensitiveness to pain,[19] this social pity is still real enough to lead him into thorny paths for the sake of justice. Here at least his idealism overrides the skeptic. For as he says, "if the object for which one sacrifices oneself is an illusion, self-sacrifice is none the

[19] *Livre de mon ami*, p. 124.

less a reality, and that reality is the most splendid adornment that man can put upon his moral nakedness."[20] And though, to him, "earth is only a grain of sand in an infinite desert of celestial worlds," none the less he adds: "But if men suffer only upon earth, it is greater than all the rest of the universe. . . . It is everything and the rest is nothing at all."[21]

How different this attitude from the Romantic contempt of ordinary humanity, from that hatred of the bourgeois which all his life held Flaubert aloof in the artist's aristocratic pride. Yet Anatole France is one with Flaubert in his cult of art. He too has that devotion to style, born of Romantic example and grown into a religion with the Parnassian poets and the author of *Salammbô*. Primarily a stylist, even his reaction against *Le Parnasse*, his rejection of their "splendid" diction for a classical simplicity, is still a devotion to form, a devotion whose labors only a stylist can fully understand. To the end he remains in spirit a Parnassian, polishing his seemingly artless phrases until all trace of effort or workmanship is filed away. So for him there is no unconscious simplicity. "A good style is like yonder beam of light, which owes its pure brilliance to the intimate combination of the seven colors which compose it. A simple style is like white light: it is complex, but it does not seem so. In language true simplicity is only apparent, and springs merely from the fine coordination and sovereign blending of its several parts."[22]

A conscious artist, he is ever seeking a greater perfection. Remodeling *Sylvestre Bonnard* in 1900, he ponders every phrase and particle in his effort to improve its delicate rhythm. His work has ripened from the beginning, until in *Histoire contemporaine* its finish and contexture are rich enough to dispense with constructive unity. But even *Le mannequin d'osier* is not so fine as the art of *Les dieux ont soif*, so carefully polished, so delicately evasive of all that is tedious or obvious, so full of pages which haunt the memory like the cadences of Walter Pater or the songs of Paul Verlaine. Some of its episodes may be open to criticism, but the style is perfection itself.

The charm of these pages is indeed hard to analyze. Always one feels the intellectual qualities underneath, the philosophy, the humor. It is the charm of ironical detachment, the mask so often adopted by the disillusioned idealist. It is a universal irony—seen not merely in the art of inverted statement which Coignard and Bergeret take from Voltaire; it is also the impassive irony of Flau-

[20] *Jardin*, p. 56. [21] *Ibid.*, p. 56. [22] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

bert, recounting in cold moderation abuses which clamor for emotional treatment, for the lash of sarcasm or indignation. And with all this it is the irony of Renan, those indefinable overtones of an ironic temperament, divided between imagination and intellect. Poised condor-like over a serio-comic universe, this fantastic humor seizes contrasts which startle or appal.

If primarily intellectual, his charm is also due to qualities which belong to the poet as well as the philosopher. The art of Anatole France is a product of his imagination, his taste, and his musical sense. Symbolic of his whole creation is his statement concerning the ballad which first revealed to him the virtue of poetry: "In my prose will be found the *disjecta membra* of the poet." This is plain enough when his work is read aloud. Only thus can one realize the flexibility of his diction, which runs the whole gamut of melodic quality without ever losing its purity or its power to express his changing moods: a flexibility which gives the reader all the delicacy of the impression, in a music which seems stolen from the very flute of Pan.

Yet with all his sensuousness he rarely falls into stylistic exaggeration. His taste may break down as regards matter, but never in his manner or form. It is this which keeps him from the bathos so common in esthetic or rhythmic prose—taste and an intellectuality which the sensation never quite obscures. They save him from that pitfall of French writers, rhetorical emphasis—from that love of sonorous or dramatic effect which makes the theater the dream of every literary Gaul. "*En tous les genres, il nous faut des Marseillaises.*" Taste turns him from this to the poetry which life itself distils, perceptible only to those whose ears are not filled by noise alone. An instinctive tact seems to have led him naturally to the Greeks, rather than to the oratorical Romans so dear to French classicism, and when his old Ciceronian professor of rhetoric criticized him on this point, suggesting that he read "the complete works of Casimir Delavigne," he felt already that he had found something better. "Sophocles had given me a certain bent which I could not undo."[23] And all through his life that same taste has kept his genius from the contamination of northern literatures, making him the most truly classical of all the moderns. Alone among contemporaries, Anatole France has grafted the living flower of Hellas upon the Gallo-Latin logic of form.

"You are the genius of Greece made French," said Alfred Croiset in his memorial tribute to Anatole France. "You have taken

[23] *Livre de mon ami,* p. 166.

from Greece her gift of subtle dialectic, of smiling irony, of words which seem endowed with wings, of poetry delicate yet definite and full of luminous reason; and you have shed upon that Greek beauty the grace of the Ile-de-France, the grace which invests her familiar landscapes, and which also lends its beauty to the style of our dearest writers, those who are most delightfully French."

Greek, yet subtly national, this is why Anatole France has taken his place among the great French classics. This is why he must remain a classic. For if literature is the least durable of all the arts, dependent as it is upon words and metaphors which never cease to change, he alone in his generation has chosen the simplicity which suffers least from time. In the last fifteen years, a new literature and a new hope have succeeded the pessimism consequent upon 1870, and when the tinkling poets and morbid self-dissecting novelists are forgotten, when the sickly symbolism or the cruder sensuality of the end of the century has passed like a cloud in the cold, bright, windswept dawn of to-morrow, we shall still remember Anatole France. A monument of that discouraged era, when life itself forced the artist into the esoteric, his books will best recall the delicate age which found its object in an Epicurean cult of art and self. For he alone has avoided the formal dangers of its romantic subjectivity, building not in agate nor in porphyry, but in the cool yet glowing marbles of the Greeks.

A new age is upon us, an age whose first reaction will be toward *life*. The cult of the self—"that pearl of degeneration" as a Socialist poet calls it—will probably perish. But art will not perish; and in art, we know, works without grace are of no avail. We shall return to Anatole France some day, come back to his work as the traveler returns to Athens, for the beauty that is hers. As on the Acropolis, we shall think of the labors which built the temple, reared and polished with infinite pains, and wonder why such a devoted artisan should have suffered the reproach of hedonism. We shall marvel at a lost ideal, at a perfection impossible to a time which will have so much to do. And we shall return to our workaday world tempered and exalted by a devotion to art which is also a devotion to truth.

SAVAGE LIFE AND CUSTOM.

BY EDWARD LAWRENCE.

VI. THE POSITION OF WOMEN: COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE.

OF all the nonsense that has been written about savages, probably no greater nonsense has been written than that concerning their womenfolk. Not only have they been constantly described as mere "beasts of burden" under tyrannical subjection to their husbands, but even the cause of their early physical decay, after the age of twenty-five or so, has been gratuitously placed to the credit of the men. It is true that all the savages consider women, in certain respects, inferior to men, but it is a "superiority" in certain respects only which have for their foundation a natural basis; and such claim to superiority as exists is never offensively asserted.

In savage life, women occupy an important and recognized position; they themselves would be surprised that certain globe-trotters have considered their position a degraded one and held them to be mere slaves of the men. Both men and women have their allotted duties; and either would resent any attempt by the other sex to interfere with their work. The men are hunters and warriors; the protectors of hearth and home; the women are agriculturists and founders of the family. In savagery, a woman has no more desire to occupy a man's place or usurp his functions than she has to become a man herself. Neither sex can do as they might wish, because their whole social system is dominated by religious custom. Nor will any woman meddle with what does not concern her, nor manifest any desire to become a warrior or a chief. To her, that which is, is right. It is related of a Mombuttu chief that he always consulted his wives before taking any important step; his ugliest wife being the most influential and always to be seen at his side.

Thus the woman is *never* a slave; in most cases she can more than hold her own, for instance in the Congo region there is a tribe where the men do all the sewing—should a man refuse to make his wife's clothes, custom allows her to leave him forthwith. As a matter of fact, speaking generally, the women are in several respects better off in savage communities than are many of their more civilized sisters in Christian lands.

As has been stated, man is the hunter, the food-provider; it is

his place to kill the animals for food as it is the woman's place to cook them.

When a man desires to marry, he must possess certain qualities which, both in the lady's estimation and in the opinion of the tribe, fit him for matrimony. In Borneo for example, before it is possible for a man to obtain a bride, he must prove his prowess by hunting for human heads; no woman would dream of marrying any man before he had laid at least one of these trophies at her feet. Among the Indians of Brazil as well as those of the Gran Chaco, a young man wishing to marry must show proof that he can support a family by killing five peccaries or one jaguar; he is then open to an offer of marriage which must come from the lady herself.

In Northern Africa, the man begins his love-affair by sending the girl a little packet of charcoal, to show his heart is black, also a packet of sugar, which shows how sweet she is to him. Should he find favor with the lady, she keeps the sugar and returns the charcoal; if she refuses him she returns both articles. In any case, she has perfect liberty to accept or reject him. Sometimes the lady herself has anxious moments as to the possibility of an early marriage; in this case she will eat a puppy dog, which is supposed to have a magical result and to hasten her heart's desire.

The well-known custom of wife-purchase has often been held up to show how degrading are the matrimonial arrangements of savages. The very reverse is actual truth. So-called wife-purchase is really a great moral factor. When a man "buys" a wife, she becomes his and his only; any one who interfered and abused his right would be killed. And wives are not always cheap either; so much so that natives sometimes prefer to be married "English fashion" than by their own customary laws.

Mr. Hugh H. Romilly, who was at one time acting Commissioner of New Guinea, gives an illuminating illustration of this. He had as a servant a native Christian named Charles, who wished to marry a native girl. Charles approached the Commissioner and said: "You marry me in English fashion to Bezine; by-a-bye when I go to England she looks up some other fellow." Queen Victoria's representative in New Guinea remonstrated with Charles and told him he was not playing the game, to which Charles replied: "Well, I suppose I must get married in New Guinea fashion, but New Guinea fashion plenty dear; English fashion only two-bob." Now, New Guinea fashion would have cost Charles something like thirty shillings, in tomahawks and tobacco, hence his desire to be married in English fashion at the cheaper rate.

Fig. 17. NEWLY MARRIED COUPLE FROM SIAR, NEW GUINEA.

Note the ligature round the lady's stomach, referred to under "Tight Lacing." Her hair has been plastered with mud and then twisted into curls. (From Meyer's and Parkinson's *Album von Papua-Typen.*)

A chief once told Dr. Haddon that he gave for his wife, a camphor-wood chest, a dozen jerseys, some lengths of calico, twelve fish-hooks, and a pound of tobacco, and wound up by saying, "By golly, she too dear.!"

As a matter of fact, there is no real purchase in our sense of the term; it is simply a matter of exchange. It has been explained, for example, that the native word in Zulu for buying a wife—*ukulobola*—is the exact equivalent of the Hebrew *mohar* as used in the Old Testament (Ruth iii. 10) and that both the Hebrew and the native words are used only in relation to this custom and never in regard to chattels.

The Sikani Indian of North America approaches the lady in the following manner by asking her whether "she will park his beaver-snares for him." This question is equivalent to a proposal of marriage. If she is agreeable she answers "Perhaps, ask my mother." But it is the damsel herself who breaks the news and "asks mother." Thereupon her mother instructs her daughter to build a lodge at the side of the maternal dwelling. During the evening the man comes to the new lodge, where the young lady awaits him, and hands her his beaver-snare. This simple ceremony constitutes the whole of the marriage service and they are now man and wife. Should the girl not wish to become his wife, when he puts the question, she pointblank refuses him and says: "No! there are plenty of women, ask another."

It is by no means uncommon for the ladies themselves, as mentioned above, to make matrimonial overtures. One of the lessons taught in school to the young men of the western islands of Torres Straits is: "You no like girl first; if you do, girls laugh at you and call you a woman"—i. e., a man must wait for the girl to propose.

Dr. A. C. Haddon, in a lecture delivered before the Royal Institution some years ago, gave some most amusing accounts of native courtship in those islands. He said if a lad be a good dancer, dancing sprightly and energetically, he stands a good chance of an early proposal, and if he could add to his claim the taking of somebody's head it would further add to his chance and rebound to his prowess. The smitten lady plaits a string armlet which she entrusts to a mutual friend, who, approaching the swain, says: "I have some good news for you; a woman likes you." In reply the young man sends a message, asking the girl to keep an appointment in the bush. When the couple meet, they, like all other couples, sit down and talk, the conversation being conducted with perfect decorum. As

to what actually takes place, Dr. Haddon's friend, Maino, chief of Tud, enlightens us.

The man asks: "You like me proper?"

"Yes," she answers, "I like you proper with my heart inside. Eye along my heart sees you—you my man."

Not wishing to give himself away the young man asks: "How you like me?"

"I like your fine leg—you got fine body—your skin good—I like you altogether," the girl replies.

The damsel, now anxious to clinch the matter, asks him when they are to be married, to which he replies: "To-morrow if you like."

On the return to their respective homes the girl's folk fight the man's people—this mock fight being part of the marriage program.

It is to be regretted that the missionaries have done their best to put an end to this harmless custom of ladies proposing matrimony. They have also taught the natives to read and write, with the result that proposals are now made in writing; in one instance the proposal was written on a school-slate.

Dr. Haddon has elsewhere quoted some letters which he obtained. I will quote one of which he gives the following translation by a native:

"Pita, what do you say? I try you. My heart he like very bad for you. You send me back a letter. Yes, this talk belong me. Pita, you. Good-bye. Me, Magena."

To which Peter replies: "Magena. I make you know. Me just the same. I want very bad for you. My talk there. If you like me, all right, just the same; good for you and good for me. Yes, all right. Finish. You, Magena. Good-bye. Me, Pita."

While native law usually permits a man to possess more than one wife, in actual pratice the number is limited to one. Contrary to what might be thought the women themselves often wish their husbands to add to their number. The ladies are sorry when a man has only one wife. On one occasion, Bentley, the pioneer missionary of the Congo, was asked why he had only one wife, as he would have only one to cry over him when he was dead; he might as well be a slave!

Many of the very lowest races never possess more than one wife, and the spouses are united in a life-long union. Divorce and bigamy, polygamy, and polyandry, are almost unknown; death itself

is the sole terminator of their affection. Instance after instance could be given in support of these assertions.

Thus Mr. W. H. Man, whose careful researches among the aborigines of the Andaman Islands are so well known, and who lived with them for nearly twelve years, tells us that there is no divorce nor bigamy and that death itself is the only separation. With them conjugal fidelity is the rule, not the exception, and although the women are Eve-like as regards their clothing, they are strikingly modest, good wives, and models of constancy, in which respect the men do not fall far short.

Sir W. W. Hunter says of the Santals, a hill-tribe of Bengal, that second marriages are unknown; divorce is rare and can only be effected by the consent of the clan itself.

Of the Sakais, Semangs, and other wild tribes of the Malay Peninsula, it is stated that the married people are in the highest degree faithful to each other, and that cases of unfaithfulness in either sex are exceedingly rare.

Such evidence could be multiplied over and over again. Nor does the evidence rest upon the hasty generalizations of touring travelers, but is the outcome of special investigations made by scientific observers often extended over a period of many years.

VII. OCCUPATION IN PEACE AND WAR.

Hunting and Fishing.

Self-preservation being Nature's first law, the necessity of providing himself and family with food is the basis upon which many customs and religious observances of savage races are founded.

Like the great apes, primitive man subsists upon a farinaceous diet—upon the fruits and roots which abound in the forests, this being supplemented by animal food when other supplies are not sufficiently forthcoming. Even cattle-owning tribes seldom kill their animals for food, but live chiefly upon a vegetable diet.

Both sexes have to earn their own living. While the women attend to all domestic matters—prepare the food, do the marketing, and toil in the fields—the men, no less active, fish and hunt, do the weaving and work metals. Of the Kafirs of South Africa it has been said that an incredible amount of energy is used up in warfare and in the chase. It will therefore be quite obvious that there exists no serious ground whatever for the oft repeated assertion that the women are mere slaves to the men and that such an accusation can only be put forward by those travelers who from ignorance or from

prejudice have completely misunderstood the social life of savage peoples.

One of the many methods of obtaining food is by means of the blow-pipe or blow-gun. This weapon is met with in South America, Borneo, Ceylon, Bengal, and the Malay Peninsula. It usually consists of a tube of bamboo some six to eight feet in length, from which poisoned darts are blown by means of the mouth (Fig. 18).

With such a simple weapon the wild races of the Malay Peninsula will not hesitate to attack and kill such great game as the

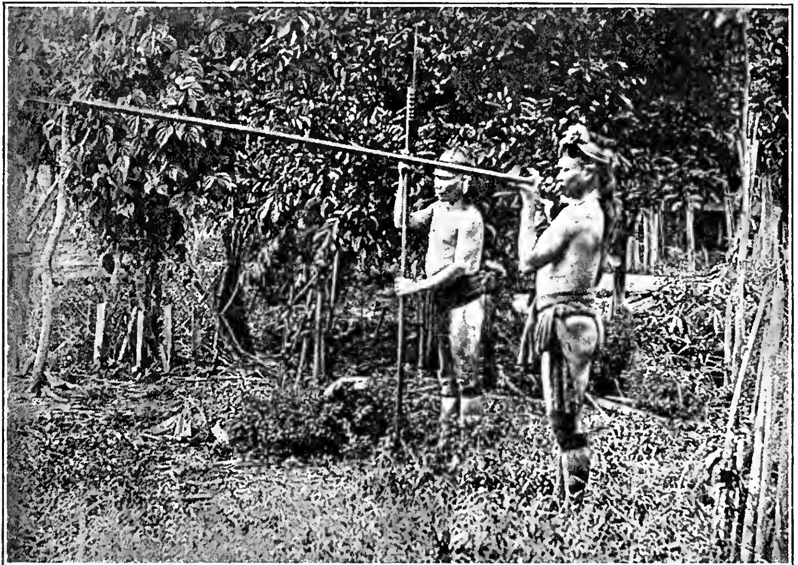

Fig. 18. KENYAHS OF BORNEO, SHOOTING BY MEANS OF THE BLOW-PIPE.

The cloth bandage worn around the loins is made of bark. (Photo by Dr. C. G. Seligmann, *Journal Anth. Inst.*, 1902.)

leopard, the elephant, and the tiger, seldom wasting a dart in so doing.

On one occasion, to test the skill of the Kenyahs, a traveler placed a potato at a distance of fifty paces; out of ten darts, six reached the mark.

One of the most familiar weapons is the bow and arrow (Fig. 19). It is by no means known to all savage tribes, for instance it is absent in parts of South America and Africa and is quite unknown in Australia. Even as regards members of the same race, it

is known to some and quite unknown to others. The use of the bow therefore, as General Pitt-Rivers points out, does not correspond to the distribution of races, as it is, for example, not known to the New Caledonians who are of the same Papuan race as the inhabitants of New Guinea.

Many of the jungle-tribes of India are skilful and intrepid hunters, never stirring without their bows and arrows. The bow itself consists of a strong mountain-bamboo which no Hindu low-lander can bend. Sir William Hunter says of the Santals that the

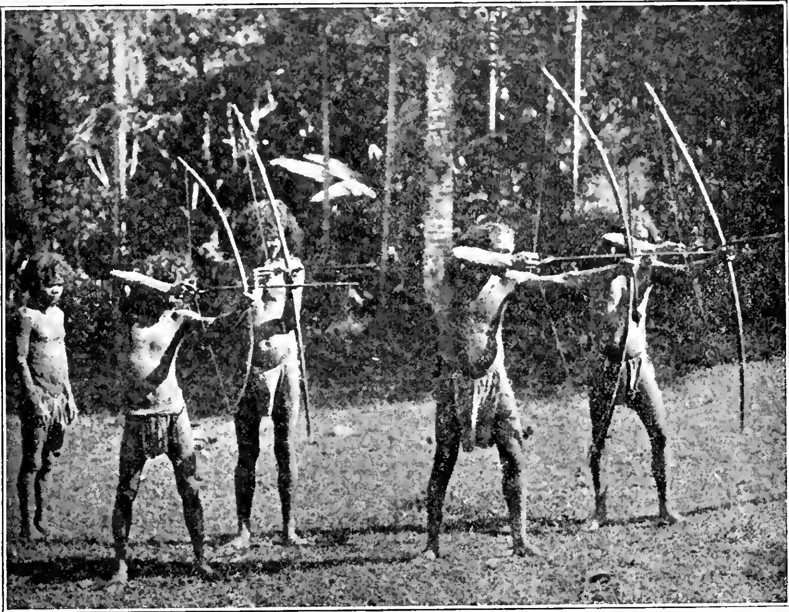

Fig. 19. VEDDAH BOWMEN.

The Veddahs use only the axe and arrow. They will skin a stag very skilfully by means of an arrow-blade only. (Photo by Skene of Colombo. By permission of the Baptist Missionary Society.)

difficulty of shooting with their arrows can only be appreciated by those who have tried, yet few English sportsmen, provided with the latest improvement in firearms, could show a better bag of small game from the jungle than these savages who are equipped solely with rude weapons.

Various methods and devices are in vogue to obtain the produce of the river and the sea. Fish-spears and poisons, knives and nets, hooks and traps, are all more or less brought into requisition.

Throughout the whole course of the great Congo River, fish-traps of elaborate and ingenious construction are used to catch fish. These traps are cone-shaped baskets varying in length from six to twelve feet by two to seven feet in diameter. They are fitted inside with another cone-shaped arrangement which, while allowing the fish free access, effectually prevents their escape. The traps are weighted with stones and dropped into the river with the opening upstream. Each tribe along the river-banks has its own particular method which is never imitated or copied by its neighbors.

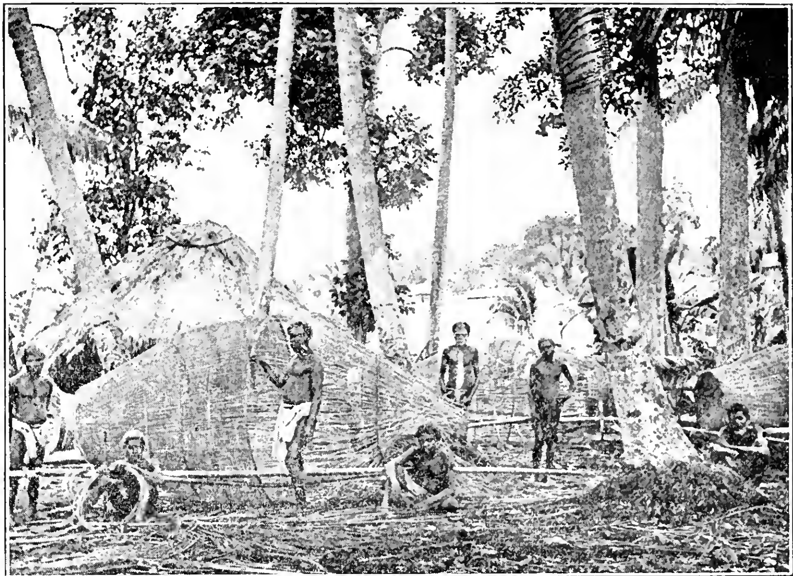

Fig. 20. FISHERMEN OF NEW IRELAND.

These baskets are anchored out in deep water, another basket containing stones being used as an anchor to keep the fish-basket in position. (From Meyer's and Parkinson's *Album von Papua-Typen.*)

Similar baskets for trapping fish are made in Melanesia, notably in New Britain and New Ireland (Fig. 20).

While making these traps, superstition as usual plays an important part. No fisherman, while making the basket, may have anything to do with women, and this abstinence must be continued not only until the fish are caught but until they are finally disposed of by being eaten. Breaking this rule would entail bad luck; even if the fish themselves were to hear the name of the fisherman men-

tioned, they would work against him and so prevent him being successful in his catch.

In Fiji, the natives fear to offend the water-spirits, so they pass by in silence with heads uncovered and on no account will they allow any food or even a portion of their clothing to fall into the water.

When the Lao hunter starts for the chase he tells his wife not to cut her hair or oil her body while he is absent; should she cut her hair the elephant would burst his bonds, and if she oiled herself the animal would slip through them.

The Eskimos, when hunting bears, do their best to deceive their prey. They pretend to be friendly and make believe that they are following some other animal; they then take their quarry unawares. Animals can in the ordinary way understand what is said to them, hence it is not uncommon for the hunters to speak a secret language among themselves in order that their prey may not understand or be on guard. In other cases the hunter will politely ask the animal to come and be shot, making the prayerful request that it will not be angry.

Sometimes a sort of pantomime will be acted—the hunters dress themselves in the skin of a bear and imitate its actions; this is supposed to have a magnetic or magical influence which will help the capture. The Bushmen of South Africa when hunting the hippopotamus, dress themselves with the head and hide of an antelope over their shoulders and imitate the movements of that animal in order to deceive their quarry.

To prevent suffering any ill effects of their hunt, the Zulus tie a knot in the tail of the animal they have killed—this will prevent them having the stomach-ache when they partake of its flesh!

Pottery-Making.

"Women," says a leading American authority—Dr. Otis Mason—"were the first ceramic artisans and developed all the technique, the forms, and the uses of pottery."

Pottery-making is almost exclusively the employment of women in America and Oceania: while in Africa either the women or the men may do the work. The art is quite unknown to certain races, like the Australians, the Fuegians, the islanders of Torres Straits, and the wild tribes of the Malay Peninsula. Large shells are used as cooking-vessels by the islanders of Torres straits, while bamboo canes and wooden bowls cut from the solid block supply all the needs of the aborigines of the Malay Peninsula.

In Central Africa, the women not only make saucepans and wine-pots but also fire-pans and hearths for carrying fire for cooking-purposes while traveling in canoes. Notwithstanding the fact that the wheel is quite unknown, these articles are generally perfect in shape and are often finished and glazed with gum copal.

The best pottery of Oceania is made in the Fiji Islands, where

Fig. 21. WOMEN MAKING POTS, ISLAND OF TAMARA, NEW GUINEA.

The women are holding a round stone in the left hand and a small piece of wood in the right. These are the sole implements of the lady potters. The coconut-shells near-by contain water to moisten the clay. Notice the ornaments on the ladies arms, neck, and in their ears. The woman in the foreground is wearing two pairs of human ribs in memory of a dead relative. (From Meyer's and Parkinson's *Album von Papua-Typen.*)

red and black ware, of great variety and excellent workmanship is made, as usual by the women. Cooking-pots are to be found in every house, artistically worked with primitive implements as if turned with the wheel.

With the Papuans of to-day (Fig. 21) the art is not equal to that which formerly prevailed in New Guinea, if one is to judge

from the fragments which have been unearthed there in large quantities during recent years.

Warriors and Warfare.

It has been frequently asserted that the normal condition of savage life is one of incessant warfare, and the "ferocious" acts of savage warriors are continually held up as example of their moral depravity.

Thus Dr. Steinmetz, after "careful" investigation, sums up the result in the following words: "We have been able definitely to discover that savages probably after the very earliest stage were bloodthirsty and waged their wars in the cruelest way and with an immense loss of life."

Notwithstanding the dogmatic form in which that conclusion is couched, it may safely be said that no data exist which justify such far-reaching assertions. We are now intimately acquainted with the life history of many of the lowest races on earth; in no single instance does there exist such a condition of warfare, nor the cruel practices so frequently laid to the savage's charge.

Such hostilities as do exist are primarily acts of personal revenge or family feud. As regards neighboring tribes, the savage is not aggressive; he simply acts on the defensive. Savages do not make war to acquire territory, though they may defend their own. Like all animals—wild and domesticated—they resent outside intrusion, hence they frequently kill castaways or members of other tribes who enter their domain. They are careful not to infringe the territorial rights of their neighbors, who on their part recognize the just claims of others.

Even the weapons used by many tribes were not intended in the first instance for killing human beings, but for the chase. Thus the Baris on the Nile use the same weapons for war as for hunting; in the South Seas weapons of warfare are quite unknown to some tribes, the only implements used being spears for catching fish.

Prof. Baldwin Spencer and the late J. F. Gillen—who was for many years sub-protector of the aborigines of South Australia—together the greatest authorities on the Australian blacks, declare as the result of their long and continuous investigations, the assertion that the tribes are constantly hostile to each other and continually at war, is the reverse of the truth. These authorities are supported by other writers who are intimately acquainted with the social life and condition of these tribes.

Mr. F. W. Knocher of the Perak State Museum, tells us that

the hill-tribes of Perak are the most peaceful and peace-loving people on earth and have no ideas of warfare or social strife. The same may be said of the Veddahs, Tamils, and numerous other races whose position in the scale of civilization is the very lowest. Many instances go to show that savages practise toward their enemies acts which we acclaim by our term "humanity."

Not only do they respect the lives of women and children but, as frequently happens, the tombs of their enemies as well. Thus it is asserted of the Nagas that they bestow as much care on the tombs of foes who have fallen near their villages, as on those of their own warriors. The Samoans considered it cowardly to kill a woman. Bonwick asserts of the now extinct Tasmanians that, notwithstanding the provocation received by them at the hands of the colonists, it was seldom that a white woman or child was killed. Again, in 1844, during an attack on Kororareka, the Maoris refrained from destroying the chapels or the houses of the clergy. It is only as uncivilized races are brought into contact with outside influences that the martial side of their character is developed; hence the growth, during the nineteenth century, of the warrior caste among certain races of Africa, like the Zulus, Masai, and other tribes (see frontispiece). It is probable that during the many wars between civilized nations, no instance of an enemy's generosity could be pointed out which compares with the following acts performed by a then race of cannibals.

During one of England's colonial wars, on the bayonetted body of the Maori chief Henare Taratoa, an order of the day was found which ended in Maori with the words: "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink." It happened a few days before that several wounded English officers were left inside the Maori redoubt. Henare Taratoa himself tended them all night and one officer who lay dying made a request for water. There was none in the Maori redoubt; the nearest was three miles away, but there was water in the British lines. So this "savage" chief, risking his own life, crept past the sentries, filled a calabash and with it returned to his dying enemy!

On another occasion, during the fighting in 1863, several large canoes were seen by the British coming down the river from Meri-Meri, with a white flag flying. On being detained these canoes were found to contain a large quantity of potatoes and several milch goats, and were sent as a present to the hostile commander—General Cameron—and his troops, as the Maori chief had heard that the general and his men were short of provisions, so in

obedience to the Scriptural injunction, "If thine enemy hunger, give him meat; if he thirst, give him drink," the chiefs had sent their presents.

Christian civilization may point to a long and glorious history, can it point to nobler acts on the field of battle than these?

While warfare in its modern sense is quite foreign to the real savage, certain acts of an hostile character do take place at various times. These are not acts of conquest, but have their origin in superstition and religious custom.

The savage places very little value on his own life or the life of others. Death itself has little terror for him, but superstition which dominates his whole career leads him to the performance of certain acts which we deem cruel. Like his more civilized brother, he is concerned about his welfare in the present world as well as in the next, hence he will raid his neighbors to capture their heads so that his harvest will be plentiful, sickness be diverted, and that he may likewise possess slaves in the world to come.

Thus it was the custom of the Lhota Nāga of Northeast India —according to an official report issued some years since—to cut off the head, hands, and feet of any one they met without any provocation or personal enmity, solely to stick in the field and thereby insure a good crop of grain.

For the same reason the Bontocs of Luzon obtain a head for every farm, at the time of planting and sowing. These heads were exposed on trees in the villages and afterwards kept as relics when the flesh had decayed.

The Dyaks of Borneo have a feast at each head-taking; lavish endearing terms upon the head and thrust food into its mouth. The spirit-power of the deceased, acting through its head, will cause the rice to grow abundantly, the forests to teem with game, women will be fruitful, general health and happiness will abound.

When Dyaks go head-hunting they take special measures to secure the souls of their enemies and render them harmless before they attempt to kill their bodies. For this purpose they build an immature hut, in which some food is placed. The leader of the expedition sits near the hut and addresses the spirits of his own kinsmen whom the enemy have beheaded, and asks the spirits to come to their village where food is abundant. By this means they believe they can deceive the souls of their enemies and induce them also to come to the spot; then, all of a sudden, hidden warriors leap forth, make a supposed attack, and kill the enemy souls. No

danger is now to be apprehended; they sally forth and attack the bodies of the men whose souls have already been destroyed.

In Celebes the wives of the head-hunters must observe certain rules during the absence of the men. They must keep their houses tidy; they must not quit them at night; nor may they sew any garments, because, when the spirits of the head-hunters return, they must find everything in proper order.

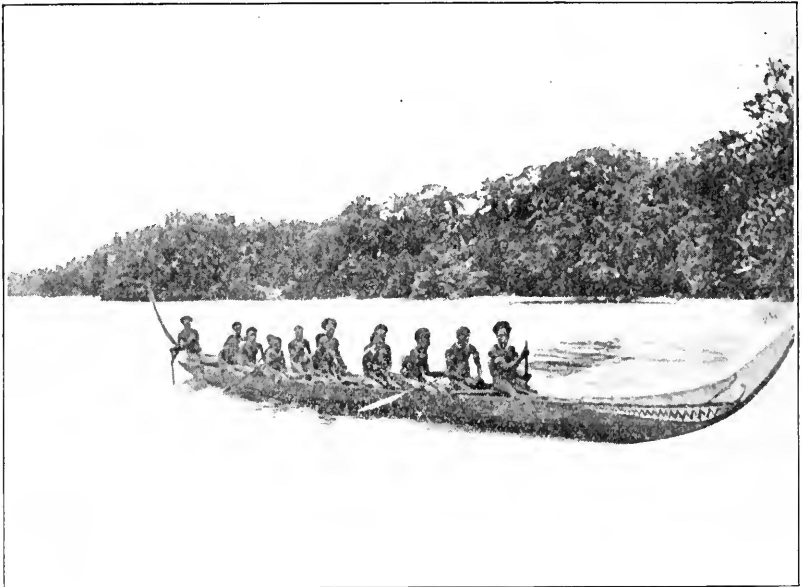

Fig. 23. LARGE CANOE—WITHOUT OUTRIGGER—OF BUKA, SOLOMON ISLANDS.

Some of these canoes are nearly sixty feet long by three and one half feet wide. They are made of pieces of wood fastened together; are very elegant in appearance, and ornamented with mother of pearl The Buka Islanders have been considered to be the finest specimens of manhood in the South Seas. (From Meyer's and Parkinson's *Album von Papua-Typen.*)

With the Dyaks and Solomon Islanders head-hunting is an absorbing passion; on a single expedition no less than sixty heads are sometimes taken. For this purpose canoes (Fig. 23) frequently capable of holding seventy men are fitted out.

At the launching of a canoe, two skulls of enemies were set up on a post, the canoe houses were likewise decorated with them,

the scalps and hair were put on a coconut mat and hung in the common hall.

When a canoe was built in the Fiji Islands, a man was killed, and when launched, human bodies were used as rollers to aid its passage to the sea.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

SEMITES, HEBREWS, ISRAELITES, JEWS.

BY PAUL HAUPT.

THERE seems to be a certain haziness in many minds, even among specialists, as to the difference between Semites, Hebrews, Israelites, and Jews. These four terms are often regarded as synonymous. The *Century Dictionary* defines *Jew* as a Hebrew, an Israelite; *Israelite* as a Hebrew, a Jew; and *Hebrew* as an Israelite, a Jew. *Anti-Semitic* is often used for *anti-Jewish*, although the anti-Semites have no antagonism to the Arabs who are more Semitic than the Jews.

In his review of Dr. S. Maybaum's book on the development of the ancient Israelitish priesthood, published in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* at the beginning of 1881 and afterward reprinted in the first volume of his *Mitteilungen* (Göttingen, 1884), p. 55, Paul de Lagarde called Semites, Hebrews, Israelites, Jews a *descending scale*. I do not endorse this statement, but Lagarde recognized at least that there was a difference between Semites, Hebrews, Israelites, and Jews.

There were no Jews before the return from the Babylonian Captivity in 538 B. C. Eduard Meyer said at the beginning of his monograph on the Aramaic papyri of Elephantine that Judaism was a creation of the Persian empire.[1] We possess now a decree of Darius II, written in the year 419, which sets forth the regulations concerning the Feast of Unleavened Bread; these were intended, not only for the Jewish colony of Elephantine in Egypt, but for all the Jews in the Persian empire (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 96). The Pentateuch was made the standard of the restored community in Jerusalem under the auspices of the Persian empire. The law which Ezra brought from Babylonia in 458, was the Priestly Code, but the Torah which was proclaimed at the great public meeting convened by

[1] Eduard Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine* (Leipsic, 1912), p. 1.

Nehemiah on October 30, 445,[2] was the Priestly Code combined with the pre-Exilic sacred books, Deuteronomy as well as the Judaic and Ephraimitic documents. Afterward the Book of Joshua was cut off in order to emphasize the Mosaic origin of the Law.[3]

The inhabitants of the Southern Kingdom before the Exile may be termed Judaites. Judah was not a tribe, but a religious association. The Levites formed a sacerdotal caste. Judah is a collective term for those who worship JHVH (Heb. *ăshăr yĕhôdû Yahwêh*). King of Judah is originally a designation like the Arabic Commander of the Faithful. The ancestors of the Judaites were Edomites. An examination of the genealogies of Edom and Judah shows that they are practically identical. Judah included a number of heterogeneous elements. Solomon's mother was the wife of Uriah the Hittite. David also had Philistines and Cretans in his army. His ancestress Ruth was a Moabitess. The Book of Ruth seems to have been written about 450 B. C. as a protest against the exclusive attitude taken by Ezra and Nehemiah with regard to the wives of foreign extraction, just as the Book of Jonah may be a Sadducean apologue written about 100 B. C. and aimed at Pharisaic exclusivism.[4]

Moses's wife is said to have been a daughter of the priest of Midian. According to Manetho she was a daughter of a priest of Heliopolis, the center of Egyptian solar monotheism. In the official Judaic tradition this connubial connection was afterward transferred to Joseph. The Israelites were not in Egypt, only the Edomite ancestors of the Jews sojourned there for some time. In a papyrus of the time of Mernephtaḥ a high official asks permission for the entrance into Egypt of Bedouins from the land of Aduma, i. e., Edom. The famous stele of Mernephtaḥ shows that at that time (i. e., about 1230 B. C.) the Israelites were settled in Palestine, especially in Ephraim.[5] Ephraim is not a tribal name, but a geographical term denoting the central portion of western Palestine between Judah and

[2] For this date cf. my paper "The Inauguration of the Second Temple" in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 33, p. 161.

[3] See my paper "The Origin of the Pentateuch" in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 16, p. ciii; cf. the pamphlet *Bibles Within the Bible*, issued in connection with the prospectus of the Polychrome Bible and the article "*Tôlĕdôt Mĕqôrê hat-Tôrâ*" in the Hebrew literary review *Ner Ha'Maarabi*, New York, June 1895, pp. 2-10.

[4] See my paper "The Religion of the Hebrew Prophets" in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* (Oxford, 1908), Vol. 1, p. 269; contrast the *Princeton Theological Review*, April, 1918, p. 280.

[5] Cf. the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., Vol. 9, p. 85b, and Meyer's booklet on the papyri of Elephantine (see above, n. 1), p. 43, n. 1.

Galilee. Edom may be a dialectic form of Heb. *adam,* men, while Esau may be a dialectic form of Heb. *'ôsê,* maker, creator. Esau was originally the god of the Edomites, just as Jacob was the god of the Israelites. Similarly Abraham seems to have been a local deity of Hebron, and Isaac a divinity of Beer-sheba. They were afterward transformed into patriarchs just as several pagan deities survive in the saints of the Catholic Church. Esau, Maker, is an older name of JHVH, Creator, lit. "He who causes to be." For the meaningless *ähyê ăshär ähyê* in Exod. iii. 13, which is supposed to mean "I am that I am" or "I will be what I will be," we must read *ahyê ăshär ihyê,* "I cause to be what is."

The ancient Israelites were not worshipers of JHVH, but idolaters (cf. Josh. xxiv. 14; Gen. xxxi. 30-35). Their national god was the *abbîr Isra'êl* who was worshiped in the form of a bull.[6] David (c. 1000 B. C.) forced the Israelites to embrace the religion of JHVH, but after the death of Solomon (933) they relapsed into idolatry. The names of the Israelitish gods in the Ephraimitic documents have been replaced by the term *angel of Jahveh* or by the appellative *god.* Judaism regarded the gods of other nations as angels of JHVH, commissioned by Him to govern the foreign nations.[7]

The Israelites invaded Palestine from the northeast about 1400 B. C. They came from Mesopotamia and spoke originally Aramaic (cf. Gen. xxxi. 47),[8] whereas the ancestors of the Jews were Edomites who had sojourned in Egypt for some time. Afterward they invaded Palestine from the south shortly before the time of David, i. e., c. 1050 B. C. For a considerable time the ancestors of the Jews were semi-nomadic sheepmen, while the Israelites were settled peasants and cattlemen. The names Sons of Rachel and Sons of Leah denote originally *sheepmen* and *cowboys,* or cattlemen. Rachel signifies *ewe,* and Leah means *cow.* Issachar and Zebulun, who play so prominent a part in the Song of Deborah,[9] as well as Reuben were *bĕnê-le'â,* but Judah with Simeon and Levi were *bĕnê-raḥêl.* Joseph, on the other hand, belonged to the *bĕnê-le'â.* These

[6] See my address on Armageddon in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Vol. 34, p. 417.

[7] See the translation of the Psalms in the Polychrome Bible, p. 176, line 36. Cf. p. 419 of the address referred to in the preceding note and p. 359 of the paper cited below, in n. 28.

[8] See my paper "Kir = Ur of the Chaldees" in the *Journal of Biblical Literature,* Vol. 36, pp. 94, 97; cf. E. G. H. Kraeling, *Aram and Israel* (New York, 1918), p. 32.

[9] See the translation of this oldest monument of Hebrew literature (c. 1250 B. C.) in my address cited in n. 6.

terms have been intentionally misapplied by the official historiographers for the purpose of creating the impression that the Israelites had been sheepmen just as well as the Judaites. In the same way Joseph is said to have been in Egypt, although the Israelites never were there. We find similar intentional alterations in the legends of South Arabia. The sheepmen were regarded as inferior to the cattlemen, and the Israelites may have looked down on their southern neighbors, because they had some admixture of African blood. Moses's wife is called in Num. xii. 1 a *kûshîth,* i. e., a negress. Egypt was originally not inhabited by a negroid population, but negroid features developed subsequently when negro slaves were introduced.[10] Semites seem to have invaded Egypt in the prehistoric period, both through the isthmus of Suez and across the Red Sea near Koseir. Egyptian is a Semitic language which was adopted by the aboriginal population, just as the Abyssinians adopted the idiom of the Semitic invaders.

There is no Semitic race. Semites denotes simply peoples speaking one of the so-called Semitic languages. Similarly Max Müller called the speakers of Indo-European languages Aryans; he said, however: "To me an ethnologist who speaks of Aryan race, Aryan blood, Aryan eyes and hair, is as great a sinner as a linguist who speaks of a dolichocephalic dictionary or a brachycephalic grammar."[11] But it is perfectly legitimate to apply the term Aryan to the ancient inhabitants of India and Persia who spoke Indo-European languages. I use Aryan in the sense of Indo-Iranian or Iranian.[12] Darius Hystaspis calls himself an Aryan. The Indo-European languages as well as the Semitic dialects were spoken by a number of different races. Ethiopic is a Semitic language, but the Ethiopians do not belong to the same race as the northern Arabs. The Philistines may have adopted the language of Canaan, although they came from Crete. Also the Phenicians may have come from Europe, even the Amorites may represent an earlier stratum of this European immigration.[13] They settled in the hinterland, while the Phenicians remained on the coast. The Philistines, who came later, occupied the southern coast, because the northern coast was held by the Phenicians. Philistine signifies *invader,* Phenician denotes *red,* i. e.,

[10] See the *American Journal of Semitic Languages,* Vol. 34, p. 86.

[11] Cf. *Encyclopædia Britannica,* 11th ed., Vol. 2, p. 711b.

[12] See n. 17 to my paper "The Aryan Ancestry of Jesus" in *The Open Court,* No. 635 (April, 1909), p. 199.

[13] See my paper "Amorites, Phenicians, Philistines," in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars,* No. 306, p. 21.

white, not swarthy:[14] and Amorite means *Mediterranean* or Westerner. *Amurru* was an ancient Babylonian name for the Mediterranean.[15] The Philistines and the Phenicians as well as the Amorites may have been pre-Hellenic invaders from the Ægean islands including Crete, but they adopted the language of Canaan, just as the Normans adopted the English language.

The so-called Phenician alphabet may have been imported from Europe. If it had been invented by seafarers like the Phenicians we should expect a ship (Heb. *'ŏnî*) instead of an ox (Heb. *älf*) as the symbol for aleph. If we invert our A (V) we can still discern in it the rough outlines of the head of a horned ox. Our S is the Greek Σ, and if we turn it (ꟽ) and draw a line across the top (ꟽ̄) we have the symbol of a (bicuspid) tooth (Heb. *shen* = Arab. *sinn*). T is a cross (Heb. *tau*). This three-armed form of the cross is known as the *tau*-cross, *crux commissa* or *patibulata*;[16] it is also called the Egyptian cross or St. Anthony's cross. Our *m* represents a wave-line symbolizing water (Heb. *maim*). We have wave-lines in the sign of Aquarius (♒) and we find them in the representation of the Euphrates on an ancient Babylonian plan of a part of Babylon, figured on p. 100 of the translation of Ezekiel in the Polychrome Bible.

We know from the Amarna Tablets[17] that Hebrew was spoken in Canaan before the Israelites invaded Palestine about 1400 B. C. As stated above, the Israelites spoke originally Aramaic (Gen. xxxi. 47). In the Amarna Tablets the Israelitish invaders are called *Khabiri*. This represents the name *'ibrî*, Hebrew, just as the initial *'ain* of *'Azzâ*, Gaza, and Omri is indicated in the cuneiform texts by a *kh*. The name *'Ibrî* is derived from a collective noun *'ibr* which represents an original intransitive adjective *'abir*, just as we find in Arabic *nimr*, leopard, for *namir*, or *bi'sa*, he was bad, for *ba'isa*. The stem *'abar* means *to pass*, to traverse, to wander. *Hebrews* denotes originally the wandering ancestors of the Israelites before

[14] The face of a healthy white man is not white, but ruddy. The *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., Vol. 25, p. 190, states: The fair European skin reddens under the sun, passing from pale red to brick-red or to patches of deep red. Cf. Gesenius's *Thesaurus* (Leipsic, 1858): *Addenda et Emendanda ad* p. 25, B.

[15] See the abstract of my paper "Assyr. Amurru, Mediterranean," in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 38, Part 4.

[16] *Patibulum* is the name of the cross-bar which the criminal condemned to crucifixion had to carry to the place of execution. The upright stake remained there as a permanent fixture. Cf. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. 1, p. 528.

[17] See the illustrated excursus on the Amarna Tablets on pp. 47-55 of the translation of Joshua in the Polychrome Bible.

they settled in Palestine. The Israelites were originally Hebrews, but all the Hebrews did not settle in Palestine. *'Arab* is merely a transposed doublet of *'Abar.* We have the same stem in the term *ambergris.* Amber, Arab. *'anbar,* denotes originally *floating,* passing through the sea.[18] At the end of Psalm viii we find:

Çippôr shamáim wĕ-dâg[19] *'ôbér orḥôth yammîm.*

The birds of the air and the fish that pass through the paths of the sea.

The rift of the Jordan is called *'ărabâ* for *'ăbarâ,* because it must be crossed, and the wilderness is called *'ărabâ,* because it is traversed. People pass through it, but they do not settle there. In Jer. ii. 6 we read:

Bĕ-'ärç lô-'abár-bâh îsh wĕ-lô yasháb adám-sham.

Through a land that no one passed through, and where no man dwelt.

The Sumerian word for merchant, *ibira,* is the Assyrian *êbir* = Heb. *'ôbér* = *sôḥér,* traveling chapman, itinerant merchant, pedler; also the synonym of *ibira,* Sumer. *damgar* is a Semitic loanword (= Assyr. *tamkaru,* salesman, from *makar,* to sell).

So we have found that Semites denotes the various peoples speaking Semitic languages, including Babylonians, Assyrians, Arameans, Canaanites, Israelites, Judaites, Arabs. Hebrews denotes originally the nomadic ancestors of the Israelites before they settled in Palestine. Israelites is the name of the Ephraimitic peasants who spoke originally Aramaic, but settled in Palestine about 1400 B. C. They were idolaters, but were forced by David to embrace Judaism about 1000 B. C. They survive in the Samaritans whose number is now reduced to 170 souls. The Israelites, who were carried to Assyria after the fall of Samaria in 722, were absorbed by the people of the Assyrian districts to which they were deported.[20] The Samaritans represent a mixture of the Israelites who were left in Ephraim and the Assyrian colonists settled in the Northern Kingdom.

Nor was Judah free from foreign admixture. Before the times of Ezra and Nehemiah (c. 450 B. C.) Judah had absorbed several heterogeneous elements. In some respects Judah was a great melting-pot like the United States of America, and the remarkable qual-

[18] See my paper "Jonah's Whale" in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* Vol. 46, p. 158. French *ambre gris* means gray amber; what we call *amber* is in French *ambre jaune,* i. e., yellow amber. White amber denotes spermaceti.

[19] *Hay-yám* after *dâg* is a gloss.

[20] For cuneiform traces of the Israelites deported to Mesopotamia in 722 B. C. see pp. 27-31 of the monograph by S. Schiffer in the first *Beiheft zur Orientalistischen Literaturzeitung* (Berlin, 1907).

ities of the Jews[21] are no doubt due to the original race-mixture followed by strict inbreeding. This exclusivism after the former race-mixture developed a distinct racial type. The English thoroughbred horse is the result of cross-breeding between Arab sires and English mares, followed by strict inbreeding. The prophet Ezekiel (xvi. 3) says of Jerusalem: Thy birth and thy nativity is of the land of Canaan; thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother a Hittite. The Hittites were neither Semitic nor Indo-European. Professor Hrozny's recent attempt to prove the Indo-European character of the Hittite language has been contested by the distinguished Aryanist Professor Bartholomae, of Heidelberg.[22] As stated above, the Amorites as well as the Phenicians and the Philistines may have come from Europe. The Amorites may be pre-Hellenic Ægeans, and the Hittites, Mongolians.[23] The Israelitish poet Amos (c. 736 B. C.)[24] calls the Amorites as tall as cedars and as strong as oaks (Am. ii. 9). The so-called Jewish nose is not Semitic, but Armenian.[25] The Jewish type is entirely different from the Semitic type as exhibited by the Arab Bedouins.[26] The Jews represent a mixed type including Edomite, Hittite, Amorite, Philistine, and Egyptian elements.[27] There was no exclusivism prior to the times of Ezra and Nehemiah (c. 450 B. C.).

The religion of Moses may be connected with the solar monotheism of ancient Egyptian theology;[28] the Levitic ritual was in-

[21] Cf. Louis D. Covitt, "The Anthropology of the Jew" in *The Monist*, July, 1916, especially pp. 370, 375, 389, 396; also the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, Vol. 1, pp. 106, 117, 119, 127 (Washington, 1918).

[22] Contrast *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 34, p. 86, n. 1.

[23] See the Hittite warriors on page 56 of the translation of Joshua in the Polychrome Bible; cf. below, n. 26. Afterwards the Hittites may have been assimilated to the "Caucasian" type, just as the Western Turks have to a large extent lost their original physique; cf. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., Vol. 15, p. 827b.

[24] See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 35, p. 287; Vol. 36, p. 94.

[25] See Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder* (Leipsic, 1907), p. 33; cf. *The Open Court*, No. 635 (April, 1909), p. 247.

[26] See pp. 145 and 146 of the translation of Ezekiel in the Polychrome Bible. A Hittite deity is figured there on page 123.

[27] See my remarks on Mesopotamia and Palestine in the *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, Vol. 8, p. 332 (May, 1918).

[28] See my paper "The Burning Bush and the Origin of Judaism" in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 48, p. 356; cf. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 36, p. 94, n. 5.

fluenced by Babylonian institutions,[29] and Judaism is a creation of the Persian empire.[30]

HUMAN SACRIFICES IN JAPAN.

BY NORITAKE TSUDA.

IT is remarkable that the tradition of human sacrifices was so widespread in old Japan that there is scarcely any old Japanese who has not heard some story or another of human sacrifices known as Hitomi-goku or Hitobashira. Such traditions arose very early in Japanese history.

According to the *Nihon Shoki* ("Chronicles of Japan"), the Kitakawa and Mamuta rivers overflowed in the eleventh year of the reign of the Emperor Nintoku (323 A.D.). Protection against the torrent was quite beyond the ability of the stricken populace. Meanwhile the Emperor had a divine revelation in his august dream to the effect that there was a person called Kowakubi in the province of Musashi, and one more person named Koromono-ko in the province of Kawachi, and if they should be sacrificed to the deities of the two rivers respectively, the work would be easily achieved. Hereupon a search for the two persons was started and they were caught.

Kowakubi, the poor victim, was then thrown into the torrent of the Kitakawa river, with a prayer offered to the deity of the

[29] See my paper "Bable and Bible" in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 163, p. 48. Not only the inspection of the intestines of slaughtered animals (*bĕdiqûtâ*) but also the Jewish method of slaughter (*shĕhîtâ*) seem to be derived from Babylonia; see *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 36, p. 259.

[30] Apart from the articles cited above, especially in notes 6, 8, 12, 13, 28, 29, additional details and fuller bibliographic references may be found in my papers "Archæology and Mineralogy" and "David's Dirge on Saul and Jonathan" in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 163, pp. 51, 53; cf. *ibid.*, p. 59;—also in the articles on the Aryan descent of Jesus and His disciples; David's and Christ's birthplace; the ancestors of the Jews, the name JHVH; the passage of the Hebrews through the Red Sea, published in Peiser's *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, Vol. 11, col. 237; Vol. 12, cols. 65, 162, 211, 245.—"The Ethnology of Galilee" in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* (Oxford, 1908), Vol. 1, p. 302.—Leah and Rachel in the *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. 29, p. 284; cf. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 32, p. 17.—Midian and Sinai in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 63, p. 506.—"An Ancient Protest Against the Curse on Eve" in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 50, p. 505.—*The Book of Micah*, (Chicago, 1910), especially pp. 19, nn. 17, 18; 36, n. 38; 50, n. 10.—The Battle of Taanach in the *Wellhausen Festschrift* (Giessen, 1914), p. 193, especially nn. 1. 12, 13, 15, 17, 21, 27, 30, 33, 41, 46, 48, 49, 81, 85, 90, 94, 102.

river. Now through his sacrifice it was possible to construct the bank completely.

Not so Koromono-ko. He brought out two gourds, and throwing them into the torrent he addressed the deity of the river thus: "I came here," said he, "to sacrifice my life to thee, because thou art inflicting the calamity upon the people of this district. If thou dost sincerely want my life, sink these gourds so that they may not float again; then I shall know thee as the true deity of this river and offer my body to thee. But if thou canst not sink them, thou art not the true deity, and it would be in vain for me to throw away my life." At this time a whirling wind blew as though trying to submerge the gourds. But dancing on top of the waves, they did not sink, and floated away. For this test, the agitation of the water lessened and the bank was made strong and Koromono-ko had saved his life.

Let us pause here to reflect a little.

The *Nihon Shoki* which contains this tradition was compiled by Prince Toneri and Ono Yasumaro and completed in the fourth year of Yoro (720 A. D.), the work being entrusted to them by the Empress Gensho. It contains the mythological ages and the early historic times of Japan, from the accession of the Emperor Jimmu (660 B. C.) to the abdication of the Empress Jito (697 A. D.), being one of the most important works for the student of ancient Japan. But these records of human sacrifices we regard as mere mythological traditions which were accepted by the people at least at the time when the *Nihon Shoki* was compiled, four centuries after the recorded events occurred.

The motive for the deification of the river may seem to be in the calamity-causing power of the water rather than in any real being supposed to be in it. It is, however, a very noteworthy point that in other cases gourds are connected with serpents. According to the same book, there was living in the river a large serpent which, frequently leaving its abode, emitted poisonous vapors and inflicted pains on the passers-by which often proved fatal. This is reported to have happened during the sixty-seventh year of the same emperor (Nintoku). To put an end to the annoyance, Agatamori, the official of the place, visited the affected part of the bank and threw three gourds into the water, as was done in the case cited above, and said to the serpent that if it could sink the gourds he would spare its life, but otherwise he would kill it. The serpent, however, could not sink them. Thereupon he killed it.

Considering these records, the tests of the river-deity and the

serpent seem to have some intimate relation. Moreover, who is not reminded of Grendel, slain by Beowulf, and other mythological tales of the West? Also the ancient Mexicans worshiped a fabulous beast called Ahuizotle living at the bottom of the water.

According to the *Kojiki* ("Records of Ancient Things," completed 712 A.D.), a monstrous eight-forked serpent devoured seven maidens every year one after another, but finally at the eighth time, it was cut to pieces by Prince Susa-no-o, and the maiden who was rescued by the prince became his wife. This record is also a mythological narrative, and it could not be indigenous in Japan because no large harmful serpent ever lived in Japan according to the zoologist. Its origin, therefore, should belong in some foreign land.

There are three elements in these tales of a serpent being killed, viz., the monster wants human sacrifices, a girl to be sacrificed is rescued, and the rescued girl is married to the hero by whom she is saved. These elements reappear very often in the later folk-tales of a similar nature.

The following tradition is still living in the memory of the people of Aihara in the province of Buzen. According to this tradition, this district was the parish of the Usa-hachiman shrine in the twelfth century, and was governed by Yuya-danjo Motonobu and six other parish commissioners. But the people suffered bitterly every year from the inundation of the Yamakuni river. Therefore the seven commissioners opened a council and decided to offer their prayers to the Hachiman shrine day and night for a whole week to receive a divine revelation. It was finally revealed to them that there was no other means than to offer a human sacrifice to the water-deity. But they could not find any man willing to be used for the purpose. Hereupon Yuya-danjo proposed to his six comrades to take off their trousers and throw them into the river, under the agreement that the owner of the trousers which sank should offer his life to the deity. This was approved by all and was tried as proposed. Alas! the trousers of Yuya-danjo sank and his life was forfeited. Tsuru, a daughter of one of his retainers, and Tsuru's son, called Ichitaro, heard of their master's ill lot, and both begged to be allowed to give their own lives in behalf of their master. Nothing of the kind being granted, each of them separately offered his life to the deity. This is said to have happened on the 15th of August, the first year of Hoyen (1135 A.D.). And since that time the banks of the river are said to have been very strong and no inundation was experienced there until modern times. The faithful mother and her son are said to be enshrined in the Tsuru-

ichi shrine which now stands there. The origin of this tradition seems to be in the record in the *Nihon Shoki.*

The tradition of human sacrifices is also concerned with the building of large bridges. For example, in the *Yasutomi-ki,* a diary of the fifteenth century, a famous tradition is contained, called Nagara-no Hitobashira (*hitobashira,* "human pillar"). According to the tradition, a woman who was carrying a boy on her back was caught while she was passing along the river Nagara, and was buried at the place where a large bridge was then to be built.

There are also similar traditions in connection with the crossing of the sea. The oldest record of the kind is also in the *Nihon Shoki.* According to this, while the Emperor Jimmu, the founder of the Japanese Empire, was crossing the sea on his expedition to the east, a typhoon broke and his boat was soon adrift on the waves. Then Ina-ihi-no-mikoto, deploring the disposition of the deity, sacrificed his own body to the deity of the sea; thus the emperor could proceed.

A similar but more popular narrative which is concerned with Tachibana-hime is recorded in the same book. When Prince Yamatodake was crossing the sea to subjugate a revolt in the east, his boat was nearly capsized by a sudden storm. But his consort, Tachibana-hime, thinking it to be a punishment visited upon them by the deity of the sea, threw herself into the deep to calm the agitation of the waves, and thus the life of the prince was saved.

There is a little different story in the *Taiheiki,* written in the fourteenth century. According to it, a passenger-boat was passing through Naruto of Awa when it suddenly stopped and could not proceed. The passengers conjectured that this was caused by Riujin, the dragon deity, with the intention of getting something in their possession. So they threw their swords, arms and armor, and other things which they thought the deity coveted, into the water. But the whirlpool would not become calmer. Meanwhile a steersman crying out from below said that, the place being the eastern gate of Riu-gu ("Dragon Palace"), some precious thing should be given the dragon for regaining their freedom. He then proposed to sacrifice a noble among them so as to rescue the rest, for nothing less, he claimed, the deity wanted this time. Thus the ship was released and could pass.

There are many more traditions of this nature, but we think it is not necessary to repeat them.

Besides stories concerning the water-deity there is another kind

of traditions in which human sacrifices are said to have been offered to monstrous monkeys.

The oldest of these is contained in the *Konjaku Monogatari* compiled by Minamoto Kunitaka in the eleventh century. This work contains various kinds of traditions of Japan, China, and India. According to one of them, there were once upon a time two deities, one called Chusan and the other Kōya, in the province of Mimasaku in Japan. The body of the Chusan deity was a monkey and that of the Kōya deity was a serpent. To them a human sacrifice was offered annually, always consisting in a virgin who was selected from among the inhabitants. This custom had been observed from ancient times. Now in this country, there was once living a very beautiful maiden extremely beloved by her parents. But the maiden was selected as a victim for the next year's festival. So she was given special nourishment that she might be fat on the day of the festival as it was always a rule. The parents, counting the days, lamented more and more bitterly as the end approached. Meanwhile a man came to this province from the eastern part of the country, a hunter, and he began his hunting business with many dogs which were trained to bite animals to death. This man heard about the matter of the maiden and one day called upon her parents and personally heard their lamentation which excited him to deep sympathy; so he proposed to deliver their daughter from her death. When the day of the festival came a Shinto priest with others visited the house, carrying a large chest into which the maiden was to be put. Now the man secretly entered the chest (instead of the maiden), but with a sharp sword and two of his dogs which were trained to kill monkeys. The chest was then carried to the shrine escorted by many; the strings then being cut off, it was left there as a sacrifice to the monkey deity. The tradition then proceeds to describe that the man, pushing up the cover of the chest just a little, found near-by a large monkey, seven or eight feet tall, with a few hundred smaller monkeys around him. After a little while the large monkey came to the chest and opened the cover, being assisted by the smaller ones. At this moment, the man, giving a signal to his dogs, jumped up and out of the chest. The monkey was first caught by the two dogs and then pulled down by the man. "Thou hast killed," said the man, with his sword over the monkey, "many virgins; therefore thy time is now come, but if thou be a true god, kill me this instant." Meanwhile the smaller monkeys were mostly killed by the two dogs. At the same time, a revelation was made to the Shinto prist who had brought the chest, saying, "I (the

monkey) need no more human sacrifices from now on, so come and deliver me from death." Now the priest and others rushed into the shrine and told the man about the revelation. The man, however, did not want to listen to them and answered that he wanted to kill the monkey for his many misdeeds and that he did not care about his own life for this. But after repeated implorations he allowed the monkey to regain his freedom. The monkey ran away into the hills and the man went back to the maiden's parents and married her, and formed a happy home for many years. Thus the people were delivered from human sacrifices.

It is remarkable that such traditions gave rise to religious customs and manners in commemoration of them, and that such services were observed even until recent years in remote parts of the country. We shall here introduce some instances.

It was on the 4th of February, 1895, that my friend Mr. S. Wada personally witnessed a service of this kind called Oto. According to his information it took place annually on the 10th of January (of the old calendar) at Hojo, Shikito-gun, in the province of Harima. In this village there is a shrine called Ten-man-gu. According to the tradition remembered by the people of the village, there once was a large bamboo bush at the back of the shrine, and here lived an eight-eyed weasel. To propitiate the weasel and to get rid of its evil doings from which the villagers suffered, a boy and a girl had to be offered to it annually as its food. But one day a Yamabushi priest called Doshingasaka came to this village and killed the weasel before it caught the poor boy and the girl who were then being offered to it. The commemoration of this noble deed of the Yamabushi priest is said to be the origin of the Oto service. The service is very peculiar and interesting. Two families are selected beforehand by divination. One of the families must have a boy of five years who must be their eldest son, and the other family a girl of five years who must be their eldest daughter, and the parents must be living. Every one who wants to take his seat in the ceremony must cleanse his body and eat only vegetables from the previous day until the ceremony ends. On the morning of the festival day the boy and the girl proceed to the shrine followed by their parents, servants, and neighbors. When they arrive at the shrine, the boy, the girl, their parents, and two waiters respectively take their seats in the sanctuary, together with the priest and the shrine-keeper. Then the priest offers a prayer to the god. After the prayer, they are to be served with sacred sakê wine and other vegetable food. Villagers who throng to the shrine are also served

with the sakê and other food and make merry. Such merry-making represents their delight in the rescue of the children by the Yamabushi priest. At the close of the ceremony, the priest draws a lot to select two families for the next year.

At the Sakato-no shrine at Sakato-ichiba in the province of Kazusa, there is a service which also has some relation with human sacrifice. A person is selected from among the parishioners of this shrine by lot, and he is brought before the shrine and there he is put to a chopping-block. A person called Hitotsu-mono performs a mimic ceremony as though to kill him. The rite is said to be the relic of a human sacrifice which it was once a rule to offer to the god of this shrine.

There is also a ritual at the annual festival of the Juzo shrine at Wajima-cho in the province of Noto, which is symbolic of a human sacrifice. The essential offering in this ritual consists in the so-called sacred water kept in a chest covered with a shoulder costume and a rosary, and this offering is carried to the shrine at midnight.

It is well known that many races observed the custom of human sacrifices in some stage of their development. Human sacrifice, Bunsen says, was abolished in the very earliest times by the Egyptians, who declared it to be an abomination to the gods, whereas in Palestine, in Syria, and in civilized Phenicia and Carthage, such sacrifices continued to be offered to Moloch as the very climax of religious worship. Some of the kings of Judah and Israel caused their children to pass through the fire. Even the Romans, in the time of the Cæsars, buried their Gallic prisoners alive in order to appease the wrath of their gods; nor were the Greeks entirely free from these atrocious practices. It is also well known that among the Aztecs of Mexico human sacrifices were a matter of ordinary occurrence. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that also in Japan this custom should have been practised once. But it is doubtful whether it was really practised in the Japanese historic period, namely since the Yamato race organized the present Japanese nation more than two thousand years ago. Where shall we then find the origin of the traditions which we have characterized above? No scholar could give any definite answer to this question.

The custom, however, is also found in ancient China, for, as it is recorded in the *Ch'un Ts'ew*, with *Tso Chuen* compiled in the fifth century B. C., it must have been practised in the remote ages of Chinese history. The intercourse between China and Japan being preeminent from the beginning of the Yamato race, there should

have been some influences upon the traditions of human sacrifice in Japan. The story of Riu-jin, the dragon deity, is the most conspicuous one evidently introduced from China. Some other traditions probably originated with the Stone Age people who lived in Japan before the Yamato race came and subjugated them.

According to our investigations of the Japanese tradition of human sacrifices, those connected with the water-deity are the oldest and most numerous, and then those concerning baboons. It should be noticed that the water-deities and monkeys were often tempted by their opponent to do something or another, e. g., to sink the gourds as we described above, to disclose their inability. The Hito-bashira or "human pillar" traditions are always connected with some important enterprise and mostly with water. In large enterprises human lives are often lost in the work itself, therefore in some cases such loss of human life would have been looked upon as a human sacrifice.

It is, however, most remarkable that stories of human sacrifice were most numerously composed in the Tokugawa period, i. e., during the last three centuries. The killing of monstrous serpents or baboons to resue poor victims, or to give happiness to the people, was an indispensable element in the popular heroic stories of this period. These stories were mostly derived from the older traditions which we described. By such popular traditions, a spirit of self-sacrifice was inspired in the people. It is, therefore, highly interesting to note that the Japanese traditions of human sacrifice were made use of, in a pretty well advanced stage of society, for social education both by means of popular literary works and religious customs and manners.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

Liberal Judaism and Hellenism, and Other Essays. By *C. G. Montefiore.* London: Macmillan & Co., 1918. Pp. xii. 328. Price, 6s. net.

The essays—many of them undelivered lectures—which make up this interesting and persuasive volume all deal with aspects of liberal Judaism, and are mainly concerned with the question whether the Jewish religion, which survived the changes and chances of so many centuries, can survive the more

potent solvent of higher criticism. It is, in fact, the expression of Jewish modernism, by the ablest of its representatives. Liberal Judaism is bound to accept the assured conclusions of historical and critical investigation. "Whither the argument of truth leads, thither liberal Judaism must follow;" can it survive this pursuit? In the opinion of Mr. Montefiore, it can.

In spite of concessions to criticism, in spite of disbelief in its miraculous element, in spite of a new conception of inspiration, the Bible to him still holds a special and peculiar place. For it contains the belief in the one righteous God, "the simple ethical monotheism of social and practical life, the simple yet profound and intimate (and even adequately mystical) monotheism of our private life of prayer and communion." The wide scholarship and charm of the chapter upon liberal Judaism and Hellenism will appeal to many readers outside the circle of Jewish modernists to whom Mr. Montefiore chiefly addresses himself. μ

On the Threshold of the Unseen: an Examination of the Phenomena of Spiritualism and of the Evidence for Survival After Death. By *Sir William F. Barrett.* London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1917. Pp. xx, 336. Price 6s. 6d. net.

Sir William Barrett, who was for many years professor of Experimental Physics in the Royal College of Science for Ireland, has produced the nearest thing to a scientific book upon spiritualism in this book, which is his *On the Threshold of a New World of Thought* (1908) recast and added to. Although a believer in the phenomena of spiritualism, he presents the evidence with notable fairness and absence of credulity. He describes the so-called physical phenomena in Part II as "bizarre and repellent," criticises the sources of "spirit teachings" (p. 188), and restricts his evidence as far as possible to that obtained from mediums who are not paid. He has put together a body of evidence which will help in the future scientific discussion of the subject. μ

Christianity and Immortality. By *Vernon F. Storr.* London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1918. Pp. x, 195. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Canon Storr has given a fresh and ably written restatement of an old problem. He gives prominence to an interesting theory "published by the Rev. R. Vaughan in the *Church Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1916, as to the post-Resurrection appearance of Christ; and advances a suggestion, in relation to human survival, that it is not impossible that we are making for ourselves," either within the particles of the existing body or outside of it, a "spiritual body of finer material." The main difficulties of the Christian doctrine of immortality are faced with candor, together with the apocalyptic element in Christ's teaching. He gives a summary and critical examination of what spiritualism has to contribute to the problem of survival, and a theory that the fate of the wicked is to be extinction, "the progressive disintegration of the personality as it finds itself unable to cooperate with the great purpose of God." μ

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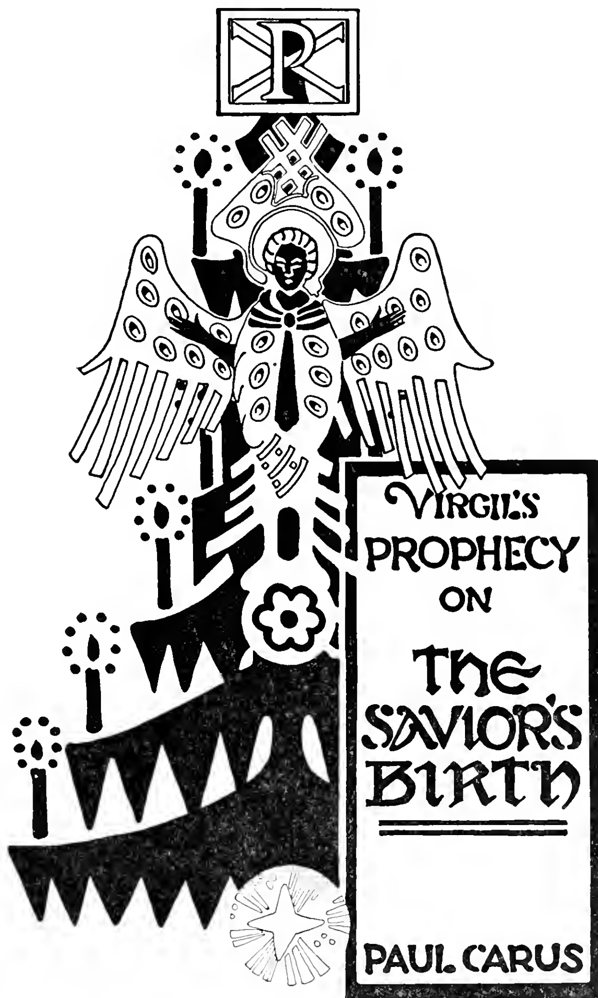

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